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ATHENAEUS

II

A THENAEUS

THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN SEVEN VOLUMES

II



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ABBREVIATIONS

Allinson	= <i>Menander</i> , in Loeb Classical Library.
Aristoph.	= Aristophanes.
Aristot.	= Aristotle
Athen	= Athenaeus.
Brandt	= <i>Parodorum Epicorum Graecorum Reliquiae</i> , ed. P. Brandt, 1888.
Diehl	= <i>Anthologia Lyrica</i> , ed. E. Diehl, 1922-24
Diels	= <i>Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta</i> , ed Hermann Diels, 1901.
F.H.G.	= <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed C. Muller.
<i>Frag. ep.</i>	= <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. G Kinkel.
Hort	= <i>Theophrastus</i> , in Loeb Classical Library.
I.G.	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
Kaibel	= <i>Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. G. Kaibel (for Epicharmus, Sophron, Sopater)
Kock	= <i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. Th. Kock
P.L.G. ⁴	= Bergk, <i>Poetae Lyrici Graeci</i> , 4th edition.
P.L.G. ⁵	= 5th edition of the preceding work, Vol. 1 (Pindar), by Schroeder, 1900, reprinted with a new appendix (<i>P.L.G.</i> ⁶), 1923. Vols ii. and iii. reprinted with indices by Rubenbauer, 1914
Powell	= <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> , ed. J. U. Powell, Oxford, 1925.
T.G.F. ²	= <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. A. Nauck, 2nd edition.

The references are to pages, unless otherwise indicated

In the case of an ancient author whose work is known only through quotations, a proper name following a reference indicates the modern editor or compiler of the quoted fragments. Thus, "Frag. 200 Rose" means the edition of Aristotle's *Fragmenta* by Valentin Rose; "Frag. 72 Gaede," Gaede's edition of the *Fragmenta* of Demetrius of Scepsis, etc.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE

- AEMILIANUS MAURUS, grammarian.
ALCEIDES OF ALEXANDRIA, musician.
AMOEBEUS, harp-player and singer.
ARRIAN, grammarian
ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, the author.
CYNULCUS, nickname of a Cynic philosopher, Theodorus.
DAPHNUS OF EPHESUS, physician
DEMOCRITUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher.
DIONYSOCLES, physician
GALEN OF PERGAMUM, physician
LARENESIS (P. LIVIUS LARENSIS), Roman official, *pontifex minor, procurator patrimonii.*
LEONIDAS OF ELIS, grammarian.
MAGNUS, probably a Roman
MASURIUS, jurist, poet, musician
MYRTILUS OF THESSALY, grammarian.
PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer.
PHILADELPHUS PTOLEMAEENSIS, philosopher.
PLUTARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, grammarian.
PONTIANUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher
RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician.
TIMOCRATES, to whom Athenaeus relates the story of the banquet.
ULPIAN OF TYRE, Roman jurist and official.
VARUS, grammarian.
ZOFIUS, grammarian.

ATHENAEUS

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΝΑΤΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

Γ

Ἐξῆς εἰσεκομίσθη ταγηνιστὰ ἥπατα περιειλημένα τῷ καλουμένῳ επιπλῷ, δὸν Φιλέταιρος ἐν Τηρεῖ ἐπίπλουν εἴρηκεν. εἰς ἀ ἀποβλέψας ὁ Κύνουλκος “λέγε ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “ὦ σοφὲ Οὐλπιανέ, εἴ f που κεῖται οὕτως τὸ ἥπατρ ἐντευλιγμένον.” καὶ δος· “ἐὰν πρότερον δείξῃς σὺ παρὰ τίνι ὁ ἐπίπλους εἴρηται ἐπὶ τοῦ λίπους καὶ τοῦ ὑμένος” ἀντικορυσσομένων οὖν τούτων ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη “ὅ μὲν ἐπίπλους παρ’ Ἐπιχάρμῳ ἐν Βάκχαις.

107 καὶ τὸν ἀρχὸν ἐπικαλύψας ἐπιπλόω.

καὶ ἐν Θεαροῖς.

δοσφύσος τε πέρι κήπιπλόου.

καὶ δὲ ὁ Χῖος δὲ "Ιων ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιδημίαις ἔφη· 'τῷ ἐπίπλῳ ἐπικαλύψας.' ἀπέχεις, φίλη κεφαλὴ Οὐλπιανέ, τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἵν' ἥδη ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυλιχθεὶς κατακαυθῆσις καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ζητήσεων ἀπαλλάξῃς. τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον τοῦ οὕτως διεσκευασμένου ἥπατος δίκαιος εἴ σὺ ἀπομνημονεῦσαί, προειρημένου σοι πάλαι ὅτε περὶ τῶν ὡτίων καὶ ποδῶν

THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS OF ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS

BOOK III (*continued*)

The next dish to be brought in was fried liver wrapped in "fold-over," the so-called *epiplus*, which Philetaerus in *Tereus*^a calls *epiploon*. After gazing upon it Cynulus said, "Tell us, learned Ulpian, whether liver thus encased is mentioned anywhere." He answered, "Show us first in what author *epiplus* is used of the fatty caul." Thereupon Myrtillus took up their challenge and said: "The word *epiplus* for 'caul' occurs in *The Bacchants* of Epicharmus^b: 'The leader he hid in a caul'; also in his *Envoy*^c: 'round the loin and the caul.' So, too, Ion of Chios in his *Sojournings*^d: 'hiding it in the caul.' You are reserving the caul, my dear Ulpian, against the time when you shall be wrapped in it and consumed,^e and so rid us all of your questionings. But it is only fair that you should cite testimony about liver dressed in this way, since you said a while ago,^f when we were

^a Kock ii. 235.

^b Kaibel 94.

^c *Ibid.* 105.

^d *F.H.G.* II. 47

^e i.e. involved and confused in the discussion.

^f Above, 95 a.

ATHENAEUS

εζητοῦμεν, ὅτι¹ "Αλεξις ἐν Κρατείᾳ ἦ Φαρμακο-
b πώλη εἴρηκε πᾶσα δ' ἡ ἐκλογὴ χρησίμη οὖσα
ἐις πολλά, ἐπεὶ τὰ νῦν διὰ μνήμης οὐ κρατεῖς, αὐτὸς
ἔγὼ διεξελεύσομαι φῆσι δ' οὕτως ὁ κωμικός

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν² ὕστρεια παρὰ Νηρεῖ τινι
ἰδὼν γέροντι φυκὶ ἡμφιεσμένα
ἔλαβον ἔχνους τ'. ἐστὶ γὰρ προοίμιον
δείπνου χαριέντως ταῦτα πεπρυτανευμένου.
τούτων δ' ἀπολυθείς, κειμένων ἵχθυδίων
μικρῶν, τρεμόντων τῷ δέει τί πείσεται,
θαρρεῦν κελεύσας ἔνεκ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἐν
φήσας ἀδικήσειν ἐπριάμην γλαῦκον μέγαν
c ἔπειτα νάρκην ἔλαβον, ἐνθυμούμενος
ὅτι δεῖ γυναικὸς ἐπιφερούσης δακτύλους
ἀπαλοὺς ὑπ' ἀκάνθης μηδὲ ἐν τούτων παθεῖν.
ἐπὶ τὸ τάγηνον φυκίδας, ψήττας τινάς,
καρῆδα, φύκην, κωβιόν, πέρκην, σπάρον,
ἐποίησά τ' αὐτὸς ποικιλώτερον ταῦ.
κρεάδι³ ἄττα, ποδάρια, ρύγχη τινά,
ώταρι⁴ ψει', ἡπάτιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένον.
d αἰσχύνεται γὰρ πελιδὸν ὃν τῷ χρώματι.
τούτοις μάγειρος οὐ πρόσεισ⁵ οὐδὲ ὕψεται.
οἰμώξεται γὰρ νὴ Δί'. ἀλλ' ἔγὼ σοφῶς
ταῦτ' οἰκονομήσω καὶ γλαφυρῶς καὶ ποικίλως
οὗτω (ποῶ γὰρ τοῦψον αὐτός) ὥστε τοὺς
δειπνοῦντας εἰς τὰ λοπάδι⁶ ἐμβάλλειν ποῶ
ἐνίοτε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.
τὰς σκευασίας πάντων δὲ καὶ τὰς συστάσεις
τούτων ἔτοιμός εἰμι δεικνύειν, λέγειν,
e προΐκα προδιδάσκειν, ἀν θέλῃ τις μανθάνειν.

¹ Kaibel adds ὅτι

² Dindorf adds οὖν.

³ Dobree adds ἄττα.

discussing ears and feet, that Alexis mentions ^a it in *Crateias* or *The Apothecary*. The entire passage is valuable as illustrating a number of things, and since your memory at present is not equal to it, I will recite it at length myself. The comedian says :^a

' First, then, I spied oysters, wrapped in seaweed, in the shop of an Old Man of the Sea, and sea-urchins too. I grabbed them , for they are the prelude to a daintily ordered dinner. Next, I came upon some little fish, all trembling for fear of what was to happen to them But I bade them have no fears so far as I was concerned, promising that I wouldn't harm a single one, and bought a large greyfish. Then I took a stinging jelly-fish, being mindful that when a lady lays tender fingers upon it she must not suffer any hurt from its thorny touch For the frying-pan I got some hake, sole, shrimp, jack hake, gudgeon, perch, and gilt-head, and made the dish gayer than a peacock. Then came some meats—feet, snouts, and swines' ears, and liver wrapped in caul , for it is ashamed of its own livid colour No professional cook shall come near these, or even look upon them He will rue it, let me tell you. Rather, I shall myself act as steward, so cleverly, so smoothly, and elegantly (yes, I shall make the dish myself), that I shall cause the feasters now and then to push their teeth into the plates for very joy.^b The preparation and composition of all these foods I am ready to disclose, proclaim, and teach for nothing if anybody wishes to learn '

^a Kochen 335 , cf Athen 314 d

^b ('t 16) d

ATHENAEUS

··”Οτι δ’ ἔθος τῷ ἐπίπλῳ περικαλύπτεσθαι τὰ
ἡπάτια, ‘Ηγήσανδρος δὲ Δελφὸς ἐν ὑπομνήμασί φησι
Μετάνειραν τὴν ἔταιραν ὡς ἐν τοῖς κεκαλυμμένοις
ἡπατίοις αὐτὴν πνευμόνιον ἔλαβε καὶ ὡς περι-
ελοῦσα τὸ στέαρ εἶδεν, ἀνέκραγεν.

ἀπόλωλα, πέπλων μ' ὥλεσαν περιπτυχαί.

Μήποτε δὲ καὶ Κρώβυλος δὲ κωμῳδιοποιὸς
αἰσχυνόμενον εἶπε τὸ τοιοῦτο ἥπαρ ὥσπερ καὶ
‘Αλεξίς, ἐν Ψευδυποβολιμαίῳ λέγων οὕτως·

f καὶ πλεκτάνην στιφρὰν σφόδρ', ἐπὶ¹ τούτοις τέ που
αἰσχυνόμενον ἥπαρ καπρίσκου σκατοφάγου.

ἡπάτιον δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς
καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Παλαίστρᾳ Εὔβουλός τ' ἐν Δευ-
καλίωνι δασυντέον δὲ² λέγοντας τὸ ἥπαρ· καὶ γὰρ
ἡ συναλοιφή ἐστιν παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ διὰ δασέος.
φησὶ γάρ

χολῆν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐφ' ἥπατι.

108 Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἵχθύς τις ἥπατος καλούμενος, ὃν
φησιν δὲ αὐτὸς Εὔβουλος ἐν Λάκωσιν ἢ Λήδᾳ οὐκ
ἔχειν χολῆν.

οὐκ ὥστε σὺ³ με
χολῆν ἔχειν, ὡς δὲ ἥπάτῳ μοι διελέγουν;
ἔγω δέ γ' εἴμι τῶν μελαμπύγων ἔπι.

¹ Meineke. ἐν A

³ Porson adds σύ

² Musurus adds δὲ.

" Further to show that it was customary to wrap livers in caul, Hegesander of Delphi, in his *Commentaries*,^a says of Metaneira the courtesan that she found a lung in a dish of cased livers, and when, on removing the fat, she discovered it, she cried out ' I am lost ! My enfolding garments have been my undoing.'^b

" Perhaps the comic poet Crobylus may be added to those who, like Alexis, speak of liver so prepared as ' feeling ashamed ' ; for in *The False Substitute*^c he says . ' And verily he added a stout polyp's claw and to this again the shamed liver of a dung-eating boar.' Liver is mentioned also by Aristophanes in *Masters of the Frying-pan*,^d by Alcaeus in *The Wrestling-school*,^e and by Eubulus in *Deucalion*.^f The word should be pronounced with rough breathing ;^g for elision before it in Archilochus is effected with an aspirate. He says namely,^h ' You have no bile attaching to your liver (*eph hepati*) '

" But there is also a fish (*hepatos*) named from the liver, of which the same Eubulus, in *The Laconians* or *Leda*,ⁱ says that it has no gall . ' So you didn't think I had any gall, you talked to me as if I were a liver-fish ? But I would have you know I am still a

^a *F.H.G.* iv. 419. The text is defective, *αὐτὴν* is not intelligible as it now stands. Since the lung was the reputed seat of love, the exclamation may mean that her love was smothered, as Heracles was killed by the poisoned coat.

^b An unidentified line, *T G.F.*² 857.

^c Kock iii. 381.

^d Kock i. 522, cited 96 c

^e Kock i. 762

^f Kock ii. 173, cited 100 e

^g *hepar*, when the preposition (*e g επι*) before it is elided, its consonant is aspirated (*έφ*)

^h *P.L.G.*⁴ 131.

ⁱ Kock ii. 185.

ATHENAEUS

‘Ηγήσανδρος δ’ ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ φησι
τὸν ἥπατον δύο λίθους ἔχειν τῇ μὲν αὐγῇ καὶ τῷ
χρώματι παραπλησίους τοῖς ὁστρείοις, τῷ δὲ σχή-
ματι ρόμβοειδεῖς

ΤΑΓΗΝΙΣΤΩΝ δ’ ἵχθύων μυημονεύει “Αλεξίς ἐν
Δῆμητρίῳ καθάπερ κάν τῷ προκειμένῳ δράματι.
b Εὐβούλος Ὁρθάννη.

πᾶσα δ’ εὔμορφος γυνὴ
ἐρῶσα φοιτᾷ¹ τηγάνων τε σύντροφα
τριβαλλοποτανόθρεπτα² μειρακύλλια,
όμοιον δὲ τευθὶς καὶ Φαληρικὴ κόρη
σπλάγχνοισιν ἀρνείοισι συμμεμιγμένη
πηδᾷ, χορεύει, πῶλος ὡς ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ
ρίπτις δ’ ἐγείρει φύλακας Ἡφαίστου κύνας
θερμῇ παροξύνουσα τηγάνου πνοῇ.
d δόσμῃ δὲ πρὸς μυκτῆρας ἡρεθισμένη
ἀσσει· μεμαγμένη δὲ Δῆμητρος κόρη
κοίλη φάραγγος³ δακτύλου πιέσματι
σύρει τριήρους ἐμβολὰς μιμουμένη,
δείπνου πρόδρομον ἄριστον.

“Ησθιον δὲ καὶ ταγηνιστὰς σηπίας. Νικό-
στρατος ἡ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Ἀντύλλω φησίν.

οὕποτος⁵ ἄν⁴ αὐθις αὖ⁴
σηπίαν ἀπὸ τηγάνου
τολμήσαιμι φαγεῖν μόνος.

‘Ηγήμων δ’ ἐν Φιλίννῃ καὶ γόνον ἐκ ταγήνου ἐσθί-
οντας ποιεῖ ἐν τούτοις.

¹ The text is uncertain, cf. vi 228 f.

² Casaubon. τριβαλλοποτανόθρεπτα A.

³ Perhaps we should read κοίλην φάραγγα, and I have so translated.

⁴ Poison supplies ἄν, ἄν

fierce fighter.'^a Hegesander, in his *Commentaries*,^b says that the liver-fish has two stones in its head similar in lustre and colour to those found in oysters, but rhomboid in shape.

"*Fish for frying* are mentioned by Alexis in his *Demetruus*^c as well as in the play cited above. Compare Eubulus in *Orthannes*^d. 'Every pretty woman who is in love resorts thither, as well as the runty lads who are nurslings of the frying-pan—wild Mohawks lounging in the cake-shops. In the same company, too, the squid and the maid of Phalerum,^e wedded to lambs' entrails, skip and dance like a colt let loose from the yoke. The fan stirs up the watch-dogs of Hephaestus, rousing them to fury with the hot vapour from the pan, and the savour thus provoked leaps to the nostrils. The kneaded roll, Demeter's daughter, draws its hollow cleft along, made by the pressure of the finger to look like a trireme's ram—the best introduction to a dinner.'

"They used also to eat fried cuttle-fish. Nicostratus (or Philetaerus) says, in *Antyllus*^f: 'Never again shall I venture alone to eat cuttle-fish from the pan.' And Hegemon, in *Philinna*, represents persons eating small fry also out of the pan in these verses^g. 'Nay,

^a lit "one of the black-bottoms," slang for "brave men."

^b *F H G.* IV 420 ^c Kock II 315 ^d Kock II. 190
^e the anchovy. ^f Kock II 221.^g Kock I 700, 285 b.

ATHENAEUS

- μάλλὰ ταχέως ἵων πρίω μοι πουλύπουν¹
καὶ δὸς καταφαγεῖν κάπο τηγάνου γόνον.”
- d Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐχ ἡσθεὶς δὲ Οὐλπιανός, ἀνιαθεὶς
δέ, ἀποβλέψας ὡς ἥμᾶς καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ὁρθάννου
Εὐβούλου ἰαμβεῖα εἰπών.
- “ ὡς εὖ νεναυάγηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τηγάνου
δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔχθρὸς
- Μυρτίλος ὅτι γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων πριάμενός ποτε
ἔφαγεν εὖ οἶδα, τῶν τινος οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος
μοί ποτε τὰ ἐκ Πορνοβοσκοῦ Εὐβούλου ἰαμβεῖα
τάδε·
- τρέφει με Θετταλός τις ἄνθρωπος βαρύς,
πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δὲ καλιτήριος,
e ὁψοφάγος, ὁψωνῶν δὲ μέχρι τριωβόλου.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπαιδευμένος ἦν δὲ νεανίσκος καὶ οὐχὶ
παρὰ τῷ Μυρτίλῳ γε, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ, ὡς
ἐπινθανόμην αὐτοῦ πῶς εἰς τὸν Μυρτίλον ἐνέπεσεν,
ἔφη μοι τὰ ἐκ Νεοπτίδος Ἀντιφάνους τάδε
- παῖς ὃν μετ’ ἀδελφῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐνθάδε
ἀφικόμην ἀχθεὶς ὑπό τινος ἐμπόρου,
Σύρος τὸ γένος ὃν. περιτυχών δ’ ἥμιν οἵδι
κηρυττομένοις ὀβολοστάτης ὃν ἐπρίατο,
ἄνθρωπος ἀνυπέρβλητος εἰς πονηρίαν,
f τοιοῦτος οἷος μηδὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,
μηδ’ ὃν δὲ Πυθαγόρας ἐκεῖνος ἤσθιεν
δὲ τρισμακαρίτης, εἰσφέρειν ἔξω θύμου.”

Ἐπι τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ τοιαῦτά τινα παίζοντος δὲ
Κύνουλκος ἀνέκραγεν. “ ἄρτου δεῖ καὶ οὐ τοῦ

¹ Μεινέκε. μάλα ταχέως αὐτῶν πρίω πουλύπουν Ἄ.Γ.

but go quickly and buy me a polyp, and let me eat small fry even from the pan.'"

Whereupon Ulpian, not pleased at this, but in some vexation, glanced sharply at us and recited these iambics from the *Orthannes* of Eubulus^a. "How glad I am that that god-detested fellow—Myrtillus—has come to shipwreck on a frying-pan, for I am sure that he never bought or ate any of these things, because one of his own slaves once recited to me these verses from Eubulus's *Pimp*^b: 'I am kept by a cruel brute from Thessaly, a rich but avaricious sinner; a gourmand he, who spends as much as sixpence on a dinner.' The lad had a fine education, which he had got not in Myrtillus's house, of course, but when he lived with some other master. So I asked him how he had come to fall into Myrtillus's hands. He answered me in these lines from *The Chick* of Antiphanes^c. 'When a child I was brought by a trader here to Athens with my sister. I am a Syrian. Put up at auction, this skinflint happened upon us and bought us—a fellow unsurpassed for villainy, the kind that won't bring anything but thyme^d into the house, not even one of the things^e the thrice-sainted Pythagoras permitted to be eaten.'"

While Ulpian was still jesting in this way, Cynulcus bawled, "We want bread (*artos*), and I don't mean

^a Kock II 192.

^b Kock II 194, the last line is ironical.

^c Kock II 79

^d food of the poor, cf Aristoph Plut 253

^e i.e. vegetables (but not beans!) allowed by the Pythagorean regimen, which excluded meat

ATHENAEUS

Μεσσαπίων βασιλέως λέγω τοῦ ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ, περὶ οὗ καὶ σύγγραμμά ἔστι Πολέμων. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν ζ' καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Σικελία διὰ τούτων.

- 109 κάκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέμῳ Νότῳ διεβάλομεν τὸ πέλαγος εἰς Μεσσαπίους.
 "Αρτος δ' ἀναλαβὼν ἔξενισεν ἡμᾶς καλῶς.
 Βέξενος γε χαρίεις. Α. ἦν ἐκεῖ . . . μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν.

οὐ τούτου οὖν τοῦ "Αρτου ὁ νῦν καιρὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν εὑρημένων ὑπὸ τῆς Σιτοῦς καλουμένης Δήμητρος καὶ Ἰμαλίδος¹. οὕτως γάρ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Συρακοσίοις τιμάται, ὡς ὁ² αὐτὸς Πολέμων ιστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Μορύχου ἐν δὲ τῷ α' τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον ἐν Σκάλω φησὶ τῷ Βοιωτιακῷ Μεγαλῷ ἄρτου καὶ Μεγαλομάζου ἀγάλματα ἴδρυσθαι"

"Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡδη ἄρτοι εἰσεκομίζοντο καὶ πλῆθος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων, ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὰ ἔφη

"τοῖς ἄρτοις³ ὅσας
 ιστᾶσι παγίδας οἱ ταλαιπωροὶ βροτοί,
 φησὶν "Αλεξις ἐν τῇ Εἰς τὸ φρέαρ. ἡμεῖς οὖν εἴπωμέν τι καὶ περὶ ΑΡΤΩΝ."

Προφθάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη. "Τρύφων ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς φυτικοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις ἄρτων ἐκτίθεται γένη, εἴ τι κάγὼ μέμνημαι, ζυμίτην, ἄζυμον, σεμιδαλίτην, χονδρίτην, συγκομι-

¹ Schweighauser Σιμαλίδος A.

² Schweighauser adds ὁ

³ ἄρτοις may belong to the speaker, not to Αλεξις, being substituted for some word like πτηνοῖς, "birds."

the Artos who was king of the Messapii in Iapygæa, concerning whom there is a tract by Polemon.^a He is mentioned by Thucydides also in Book vii,^b and by the comic poet Demetrius in the play entitled *Sicily*.^c

'a. From there, with the wind in the south, we crossed the main to Italy and the country of the Messapii. And Artos received and entertained us nobly.—b. Ay, a pleasant host —a. Large was he in that country, and white.'^d On the present occasion, it wasn't Artos (Bread) that was wanted, but the loaves invented by Demeter, our Lady of the Grain and of Abundance. For with these titles the goddess is honoured in Syracuse, as the same Polemon records in his work on Morychus.^e And in Book i of his *Reply to Timaeus* he says that in the Boeotian town of Scolus there are images enshrined of Megalartus and Megalomazus.^f"

When, presently, loaves of bread were brought in and there was, in addition, an abundance of all sorts of food, he looked at them and said, "'How many traps to catch bread do unhappy mortals set,' quoting Alexis in the comedy called *Into the Well*^g 'Suppose we, then, talk about Bread.'

But Pontianus anticipated him and said "Tryphon of Alexandria, in *Plant Life*,^h names the different sorts of bread, if I remember rightly, as follows. raised bread, unleavened bread, bread made with fine flour, with groats, with unbolted meal (the last, he

^a Frag 89 Preller.

^b ch 33 (Artas).

^c Kock 1 795.

^d The epithets apply equally well to a generous host and a generous loaf.

^e Frag 74 Preller.

^f Big Loaf and Big Barley-cake.

^g Kock 11. 319.

^h Frag 117 Velsen. The sentence in parenthesis may be from Tryphon's medical authority, Diocles.

ATHENAEUS

ε στόν—τοῦτον δ' εἶναι φησι καὶ διαχωρητικώτερον τοῦ καθαροῦ—τὸν ἐξ ὀλυρῶν, τὸν ἐκ τιφῶν, τὸν ἐκ μελινῶν. γίνεται μέν, φησίν, ὁ χονδρίτης ἐκ τῶν ζειῶν· ἐκ γὰρ κριθῆς χόνδρον μὴ γίνεσθαι. παρὰ δὲ τὰς ὄπτήσεις ὄνομάζεσθαι ἵπνίτην, οὐ μνημονεύειν Τιμοκλέα ἐν Ψευδολησταῖς οὕτως.

καταμαθὼν δὲ κειμένην θερμὴν σκάφην
θερμῶν ἵπνιτῶν ἥσθιον.

ΕΣΧΑΡΙΤΗΣ. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀντίδοτος ἐν Ηρω-
τοχόρῳ.

λαβόντα θερμὸν ἐσχαρίτας, πῶς γὰρ οὖ;—
τούτους ἀνειλίττοντα βάπτειν εἰς γλυκύν.

αὶ καὶ Κράβυλος ἐν Ἀπαγχομένῳ.

καὶ σκάφην λαβών τινα
τῶν ἐσχαριτῶν τῶν καθαρῶν.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Διαγόραν ἐπι-
στολῇ συγκρίνων τὰ Ἀθήνησι γινόμενα τῶν ἔδωδί-
μων πρὸς τὰ ἐν Ρόδῳ φησίν· ‘ἴτι δὲ σεμνυνο-
μένων παρ’ ἐκείνοις τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄρτων, ἀρχο-
μένου μὲν τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μεσοῦντος οὐθὲν λειπο-
μένους ἐπιφέρουσιν· ἀπειρηκότων δὲ καὶ πεπλη-
ρωμένων ἥδιστην ἐπεισάγουσι διατριβὴν τὸν διά-
χριστον ἐσχαρίτην καλούμενον, ὃς οὕτω κέκραται
τοῖς μειλίγμασι καὶ τῇ μαλακότητι καὶ τοιαύτῃ ἐν-
θρυπτόμενος ἔχει πρὸς τὸν γλυκὺν συναυλίαν ὥστε
προσβιαζόμενος θαυμαστόν τι συντελεῖ· καθάπερ
γὰρ ἀνανήφειν πολλάκις γίνεται τὸν μεθύοντα, τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τῆς ἥδουνῆς ἀναπεινῆν γίνεται
τὸν ἐσθίοντα.’

ΑΤΑΒΥΡΙΤΗΝ. Σώπατρος ἐν Κυιδίᾳ· —

‘Αταβυρίτης δ' ἄρτος ἦν πλησίγναθος.’

declares, is more laxative than that made of refined flour), bread made of rye, of spelt, and of millet. The groat bread, he says, is made of rice-wheat, for it cannot be made of barley. ‘Oven-bread’ is so named from being baked; it is mentioned by Timocles in *Sham Robbers*^a thus: ‘Seeing that a dough-pan fresh from the fire was lying there, I ate some of the oven-bread piping hot.’ *Brazier-bread*^b is mentioned by Antidotus in *The Premier Danseur*^c: ‘He took some hot brazier-bread—why not?—and folding it over he dipped it into sweet wine.’ Also by Crobylus in *The Suicide*^d ‘taking a dough-pan full of fine brazier-bread.’ Further, Lynceus of Samos, in his letter to Diagoras, compares the food used in Athens with that of Rhodes, and says: ‘Besides, the bread sold in their market is famous, and they bring it in at the beginning and the middle of a banquet without stint. And when they are tired and sated with eating, they then introduce a most delightful allurement in what is called smeared brazier-bread. It is a soft and delectable compound dipped in sweet wine, with such harmonious effect that a marvellous result comes to one whether he will or no; for just as the drunken man often becomes sober again, so the eater of it grows hungry again with its delicious flavour.’

“Another kind listed by Tryphon is *Atabyrite bread* Sopater mentions it in *The Woman of Cnidus*^e: ‘And there was an Atabyrite loaf to stuff the jaws.’

^a Kock II 465.

^b The ἔστραπα was an open brazier, not an oven.
Kock II 411 ^d Kock III, 379. ^c Kaibel 194

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ΑΧΑΙΝΑΣ. Τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου μνημονεύει Σῆμος ἐν η' Δηλιάδος λέγων ταῖς θεσμοφόροις γίνεσθαι εἰσὶ δὲ ἄρτοι μεγάλοι, καὶ ἔορτὴ καλεῖται Μεγαλ-
ἄρτια ἐπιλεγόντων τῶν φερόντων.

ἀχαῖνη στέατος ἔμπλεων τράγον.

ΚΡΙΒΑΝΙΤΗΝ. Τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρᾳ· ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἄρτόπωλιν διηρπασμέ-
νων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀπο-
βαλλόντων.

τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα; β. θερμούς, ὁ τέκνον.

α. ἀλλ' ἡ παραφρονεῖς, β. κριβανίτας, ὁ τέκνον.

α. τί κριβανίτας, β. πάνυ δὲ λευκούς, ὁ τέκνον.

110 **ΕΓΚΡΤΦΙΑΝ.** Τούτου μνημονεύει Νικόστρατος ἐν
‘Ιεροφάντῃ καὶ ὁ ὁψοδαιδαλος Ἀρχέστρατος, οὗ
κατὰ καιρὸν τὸ μαρτύριον παραθήσομαι.

ΔΙΠΤΥΡΟΝ. Εὑβούλος ἐν Γανυμήδει¹

διπύρους τε θερμούς. β. οἱ δίπυροι δ' εἰσὶν
τίνες;

β ἄρτοι τρυφῶντες,

Αλκαῖος Γανυμήδει

ΛΑΓΑΝΟΝ. Τοῦτο ἐλαφρόν τ' ἔστι καὶ ἄτροφον,
καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἡ ΕΠΑΝΘΡΑΚΙΣ καλουμένη.
μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἐκκλη-
σιαζούσαις φάσκων.

λάγανα πέττεται,

¹ ἐν Γανυμήδει is probably a mistake. Cf. Pollux vii. 23.

^a Cf. Demeter Achaia, *mater dolorosa*.

^b History of Delos, F.H.G. iv. 494.

^c Dough was often moulded in animal forms.

^d Kock i. 422. For the scene cf. Vesp. 1387, Pac. 336,
Ran. 346.

“*Achaenae loaves.*^a—This bread is mentioned by Semos in the eighth book of the *Delias*^b. He says that it is made in honour of Demeter and Korê. They are large loaves and a festival called Megalartia is celebrated by persons who contribute it reciting the words, ‘a goat^c full of lard for our Lady of Sorrows.’

“*Oven bread.*—Aristophanes mentions this in *Old Age*.^d There he introduces a bread-woman whose loaves have been snatched away by men who have cast off their old age. She says ‘What does this mean?’—One answers: ‘Give us some hot rolls, daughter.’ She: ‘But you must be mad!’—‘Fresh from the oven, daughter.’—She: ‘What do you mean, fresh from the oven?’—‘And very white, daughter’.

“*Bread baked in ashes*^e—This is mentioned by Nicostratus in *The High Priest*,^f and by that great artist of cookery, Archestratus, whose testimony I will cite in the proper place.^g

“*The biscuit*^h—Eubulus mentions it in *Ganymede*, as does Alcaeus in his *Ganymede*: ‘A. Hot biscuits, too—B. And what are biscuits?—B They are voluptuous loaves’.

“*Wafer bread*—This is both light and thin, and the so-called *epanthrakis*ⁱ is even more so. The first (*laganon*) is mentioned by Aristophanes in the *Ecclesiazusae*^k in the words, ‘Wafers are baking’;

^a Cf. the American hoe-cake.

^f Kock II. 223.

^b Below, 111 f.

^c Cf. “rusk,” and German “Zwieback.”

^d Kock I. 757. See critical note.

ⁱ Rolled out and baked directly over the coals, another form of the word is *apanthrakis*. Cf. the *apopyrias*, 111 e, and the Jewish matzoth which, however, is unleavened.

^k I. 843.

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b. τῆς δ' ἀπανθρακίδος Διοκλῆς ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν α'
 "Ὑγιεινῶν οὐτωσὶ λέγων· 'ἡ δ' ἀπανθρακίς ἔστι
 τῶν λαγάνων ἀπαλωτέρα.' ἔοικε δὲ καὶ οὗτος
 ἐπ' ἀνθράκων γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παρ' Ἀτ-
 τικοῖς ἐγκρυφίας ὅν καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τῷ Κρόνῳ
 ἀφιεροῦντες προτιθέασιν ἔσθιεν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν
 τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἵερῷ

'Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν "Ἡβης γάμῳ κἀν Μούσαις—
 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα διασκευή ἔστι τοῦ προκειμένου
 —ἄρτων ἐκτίθεται γένη ΚΡΙΒΑΝΙΤΗΝ, ὅμωρον, στα-
 τίτην, ἐγκρίδα, ἀλειφατίτην, ἡμιάρτιον. ὃν καὶ
 Σώφρων ἐν γυναικείοις μίμοις μνημονεύει λέγων
 c οὗτως· 'δεῦπον ταῖς θεαῖς,¹ κριβανίτας καὶ
 ὅμώρους καὶ ἡμιάρτιον Ἐκάτᾳ'

Οἶδα δ', ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅτι Ἀττικοὶ μὲν διὰ τοῦ
 ἢ στοιχείου λέγουσι καὶ κριβανον καὶ κριβανίτην.
 'Ηρόδοτος δ' ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἴστοριῶν ἔφη· 'κλι-
 βάνῳ διαφανεῖ' καὶ ὁ Σώφρων δὲ ἔφη· 'τίς
 στατίτας ἡ κλιβανίτας ἡ ἡμιάρτια πέσσει;' ὁ δ'
 αὐτὸς μνημονεύει καὶ ΠΛΑΚΙΤΑ τινὸς ἄρτου ἐν γυ-
 ναικείοις· 'εἰς νύκτα μ' ἔστιάσειν² ἄρτω πλακίτᾳ'
 καὶ ΤΥΡΩΝΤΟΣ δ' ἄρτου μνημονεύει ὁ Σώφρων ἐν
 d τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Πενθερῷ οὕτως 'συμβουλεύω
 τ' ἐμφαγεῖν ἄρτον γάρ τις τυρῶντα τοῖς παιδίοις
 ἴαλε'

Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις
 τὸν ἄζυμον ἄρτον καλεῖ ΔΑΡΑΤΟΝ Πλάτων δ' ὁ

¹ θεαῖς Wilamowitz· θεαῖς A

² μ' ἔστιάσειν Meineke· με αἰτιᾶι σὺν A.

^a Kaibel 100

^b Kaibel 159.

^c Ibid. 158

^d Ibid. 159

^e ch. 92

^f Ibid. 156.

the second, the *apanthrakis*, by Diocles of Carystus, in Book i. of his *Hygiene*. He says : 'The *apanthrakis* is more tender than the wafer.' Probably this also is baked over charcoal, like the ash-bread of the Athenians ; the Alexandrians, moreover, consecrate it to Cronus and set it forth in the temple of Cronus for anyone to eat.

" Epicharmus, however, in *The Marriage of Hebe* and in *The Muses*^a—this latter play being a revision of the former—sets forth various kinds of bread thus. oven, neighbour, suet, honey-and-oil, lard-bread, and half-loaf. These are also mentioned by Sophron in his *Mimes of Women*,^b as follows 'A dinner for the goddesses—oven-bread, neighbour-cake, and a half-loaf to Hecate.'

" I know, my friends, that in Attic Greek the words for oven, *kribanos* and *kribanitēs*, are pronounced with the letter *r*, whereas Herodotus, in the second book of his *History*^c has a 'red-hot *klibanos*' And so wrote Sophron^d. 'Who is baking suet-bread or oven-bread (*klibanitae*) or half-loaves ?' The same writer mentions also a kind of bread named *plakitēs* ('flat') in the *Mimes of Women*^e: 'She promised she would treat me in the evening to some griddle-cakes.' Cheese-bread, too, is mentioned by Sophron in the mime entitled *Mother-in-Law*,^f thus : 'I advise you to snatch a bite, for someone has sent cheese-bread for the children.'

" Nicander of Colophon, in his *Glossary*,^g calls unleavened bread *daratos*. Plato (the comic poet) in

^a Frag. 184 Schneider. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 438, where this ceremonial bread is offered at Delphi in behalf of brides and children newly introduced into their husbands' or parents' phratry. Cf. 114 b.

ATHENAEUS

καιμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Νυκτὶ μακρῷ τοὺς μεγάλους
ἄρτους καὶ ρύπαροὺς κιλικιούς δύνομάζει διὰ
τούτων.

κάθ' ἥκεν ἄρτους πριάμενος
μὴ τῶν καθαρύλλων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλους Κιλικίους.

ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ΑΓΕΛΑΙΟΤΣ τινὰς
εἱρτους καλεῖ. ΑΤΤΟΠΥΡΟΥ δ' ἄρτου μέμνηται "Αλε-
ξις ἐν Κυπρίῳ.

τὸν δ' αὐτόπυρον ἄρτον ἄρτιως φαγών.

Φρύνιχος δ' ἐν Ποαστρίαις αὐτοπυρίτας αὐτοὺς
καλῶν φησιν.

αὐτοπυρίταισί τ' ἄρτοις καὶ λιπῶσι στεμφύλοις.

ΟΡΙΝΔΟΥ δ' ἄρτου μέμνηται Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τρι-
πολέμῳ ἦτοι τοῦ ἔξ ὄρυζης γινομένου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ γιγνομένου σπέρματος, ὃ ἐστιν ὅμοιον
τησαμῷ. ΚΟΛΛΑΒΟΥ δ' ἄρτου Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν
Ταγηνισταῖς.

λαμβάνετε κόλλαβον ἔκαστος.

καὶ πάλιν.

ἢ δέλφακος ὀπωρινῆς
ἡτριαίαν φέρετε δεῦρο μετὰ κολλάβων
χλιαρῶν.

γίνονται δ' οἱ ἄρτοι οὗτοι ἐκ νέου πυροῦ, ὡς Φιλ-
ύλλιος ἐν Αὔγῃ παρίστησιν

αὐτὸς φέρων πάρειμι πυρῶν ἐκγόνους τριμήνων
γαλακτοχρῶτας κολλάβους θερμούς.

ΜΑΚΩΝΙΔΩΝ δ' ἄρτων μνημονεύει Ἀλκμάν ἐν τῷ ε'
οὕτως.

A Long Night^a calls the large and dirty loaves 'Cilician' in these lines : 'And then he bought and sent us some loaves ; don't think they were the clean, tidy kind ; they were large Cilicians.' And in the play entitled *Menelaus*^b he calls certain loaves *agelaios*.^c Bread of unbolted wheat is mentioned by Alexis in *The Man from Cyprus*^d 'He has just eaten a whole loaf of whole-wheat bread.' These are called *autopyritae* by Phrynicus in *The Weeders*^e : 'With loaves of unbolted wheat and oily olive-cakes.'

"Sophocles in *Triptolemus*^f mentions *orindes* bread, i.e. the bread which is made with rice, a seed which grows in Aethiopia and resembles sesame. A form of roll called *kollabos* is mentioned by Aristophanes in *Masters of the Frying-pan*,^g 'Each of you take a roll ;' and again, 'Or fetch me the paunch of a sucking-pig killed in the autumn, with some hot rolls.' These rolls are made of new wheat, as Philyllius makes clear in *Augē*^h : 'Here I come in person, bringing the fruit of wheat three months in the growing, hot rolls as white as milk.' Bread sprinkled with poppy-seed is mentioned by ALCMAN in Book v.ⁱ as follows :

^a Kock 1. 624, cf. the gritty bread of modern Crete. *The Long Night* was that in which Heracles was born, cf. Plautus's *Amphytrio*. ^b Kock 1. 622.

^c Herded together like rolls in a pan.

^d Kock 11. 340. The comic jingle in *ἀπρον ἀπτίως* should be noted.

^e Kock 1. 380

^f T.G.F. 265.

^g Kock 1. 520, 522, cf. 96 c

^h Kock 1. 782.

ⁱ P.L.G. 4 frag. 74 b

ATHENAEUS

- 111 • κλῦναι μὲν ἐπτὰ καὶ τόσαι τράπεσδαι
 - μακωνίδων ἄρτων ἐπιστέφοισαι
 λίνω τε σασάμω τε κὴν πελίχναις
 πεδεσσι¹ χρυσοκόλλα
 ἐστὶ βρωμάτιον διὰ μέλιτος καὶ λίνου
 Τοῦ δὲ κολλτρας καλουμένου ἄρτου Ἀριστοφά-
 νης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ.
 κολλύραν μεγάλην καὶ κόνδυλον ὅψον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.
 καὶ ἐν Ὁλκάσι.
 καὶ κολλύραν τοῖσι γέρουσιν² διὰ τοὺν Μαραθῶν
 τρόπαιον.
- b ὁ δὲ οβελιας ἄρτος κέκληται ἥτοι ὅτι ὄβολοῦ πι-
 πράσκεται, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἢ ὅτι ἐν ὄβελί-
 σκοις ὠπτάτο. Ἀριστοφάνης Γεωργοῖς
 εἴτ' ἄρτον ὀπτῶν τυγχάνει τις ὄβελίαν.
 Φερεκράτης Ἐπιλήσμονι.
- ώλεν³ ὄβελίαν σποδεῖν, ἄρτου δὲ μὴ προτιμᾶν.
 ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ καὶ ὄβελιαφόροι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς
 παραφέροντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμιων. Σωκράτης
 ἐν ⁵ Ἐπικλήσεων τὸν ὄβελίαν φησὶν ἄρτου Διό-
 νυσον εὑρεῖν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις.
- ΕΤΝΙΤΑΣ ἄρτος ὁ προσαγορεύμενος λεκιθίτας,
 c ὡς φησιν Εὔκρατης. πανὸς ἄρτος Μεσσάπιοι.
 καὶ τὴν πλησμονὴν πανίαν καὶ πάνια τὰ πλήσμια
 Βλαῖσος ἐν Μεσοτρίβᾳ καὶ Δεινόλοχος ἐν Τηλέφῳ
 'Ρίνθων τε ἐν Ἀμφιτρύωνι. καὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶνα
 τὸν ἄρτον καλοῦσι

¹ Corrupt. Bergk conjectures λίνφ τε σασάμω τε κημπελα-
 ναις πέδεσσι χρυσοκόλλα, "among the cakes and the rolls of
 linseed and sesame seed are golden sweets." In λίνφ he
 understands ἄρτος λινωτός, "bread sprinkled with linseed."

'Couches seven, and as many tables laden with poppy-bread, and bread with flax and sesame seed; and in cups . golden sweets.' This is a confection made of honey and flaxseed.

"Another form of bread is the so-called *kollyra*, mentioned by Aristophanes in the *Peace*^a: 'A mighty roll and a box on the ears as a relish to go with it.' Also in the *Merchantmen*^b 'And a roll for the veterans, because of the trophy they raised at Marathon'

"*Obelias* bread is so named either because it is sold for an obol, as in Alexandria, or because it used to be baked on a spit.^c Aristophanes in *The Farmers*^d: 'Then there is a man who haply is baking a loaf on the spit.' Pherecrates in *The Forgetful Man*^e: 'Fall greedily on the spitted bread and heed not the loaf.' *Obelaphoroi* was the name also given to those who carried these loaves on their shoulders in processions. Socrates in the sixth book of *Epithets* says that Dionysus invented spitted bread in his campaigns.

"*Pulse* bread is the same as that which is called *lekithitas*, according to Eucrates. *Panos* is 'bread' in Messapian. Hence abundance is called *pánia*, and things that satisfy *pánia*, by Blaeus in *Half-Worn*, Demolochus in *Telephus*,^f and Rhinthon in *Amphytryon*. The Romans, also, call bread *panis*

^a 1. 122

^b Kock 1. 499

^c ὀβολός, *obol*, twopence, ὀβελός or ὀβελίσκος, a spit

^d Kock 1. 417.

^e Kock 1. 160 See critical note.

^f Kaibel 150.

² Bergk τοῦ περῶσι A.

¹ Unintelligible. We may possibly take σποδεῖν (mss. σποδω) in the sense of "crumble," "crush." For ὠλεν Kock suggests εἴωθεν, "it is customary"

ATHENAEUS

• ΝΑΣΤΟΣ ἄρτος ζυμίτης καλεῖται μέγας, ὡς φῆσι
Πολέμαρχος καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ἡρακλέων δὲ πλα-
κοῦντος εἶδος. Νικόστρατος δ' ἐν Κλίνῃ

ναστὸς τὸ μέγεθος τηλικοῦτος, δέσποτα,
λευκός τὸ πάχος γὰρ ὑπερέκυπτε τοῦ κανοῦ.

d δύσμὴ δέ, τοὐπίβλημ' ἐπεὶ περιηρέθη,
ἄνω βάδιζε καὶ μέλιτι μεμιγμένη
ἀτμὶς τις εἰς τὰς ρῦνας ἔτι γὰρ θερμὸς ἦν. *

ΚΝΗΣΤΟΣ ἄρτος ποιὸς παρὰ Ἰωσὶ, Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ
Ἐφέσιος φῆσιν ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι.

ΘΡΟΝΟΣ ἄρτου ὄνομα. Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν
β' Ἑλληνικῶν γράφων οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κόδρος τόμον
ἄρτου τὸν καλούμενον θρόνον λαμβάνει καὶ κρέας
καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ νέμουσι.

e ΒΑΚΧΤΛΟΣ δ' ἐστὶν ἄρτος σποδίτης παρ' Ἡλείοις
καλούμενος, ὡς Νίκαιαρδος ἐν β' Γλωσσῶν ἴστορεῖ.
μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Διαμαρτανούσῃ
οὕτως.

ἄρτους σποδίτας κρησερίτας περιφέρειν

ἄρτου δ' εἶδός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ΑΠΟΠΤΡΙΑΣ καλούμενος,
ἐπ' ἀνθράκων δ' ὀπτᾶται. καλεῖται δ' οὗτος ὑπό¹
τινων ζυμίτης Κρατῦνος Μαλθακοῖς 'πρῶτον
ἀποπυρίαν ἔχω ζυμηταμιαδον πλεον¹ κνέφαλον.'

'Αρχέστρατος δ' ἐν τῇ Γαστρονομίᾳ περὶ ἀλφί-
των καὶ ἄρτων οὕτως ἐκτίθεται.

f πρῶτα μὲν οὖν δώρων μεμνήσομαι ἡνκόμοιο
Δήμητρος, φίλε Μόσχε· σὺ δ' ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλεο
σῆσιν.

¹ Corrupt. Meineke, understanding the speaker to be a Dorian, conjectures ζυμίταν μὰ Δλ' οὐ πλέον γναφάλλαν.

“*Nastos* is the name given to a large loaf of leavened bread, according to Polemarchus and Artemidorus ; but Heracleon says it is a kind of round, flat cake. Nicostratus has the word in *The Couch*^a. ‘There was a cake, my master, as big as this, and white ; it was so thick that it bulged from the basket, and when the cover was taken off, an odour and a steam mingled with honey rose upward to the nostrils ; for it was still hot.’ ‘Grated’ bread is a variety in use in Ionia, as Artemidorus of Ephesus says in *Ionian Notes*.

“*Throne* is also the name of a bread. Neanthes of Cyzicus, in Book ii of his *History of Greece*,^b writes as follows : ‘Codrus received a slice of bread, the so-called *throne*—also meat, and they apportion it to the eldest.’

“There is also an ash-baked bread in Elis called *bacchylös*, as Nicander records in Book ii of his *Glossary*.^c Diphilus, too, mentions it thus in *The Mistaken Lady*^d : ‘Carry round ash-baked bread of finely-sifted flour.’ Another variety of bread also is the so-called *apopyrias* (‘toasted’) ; it is baked directly over the coals. This is called a yeast bread by some, as Cratinus in *Mollycoddles*^e ‘First, I have here some toasted leavened bread—none of your stuff filled with cudweed.’

“Archestratus in his *Gastronomy*^f expounds thus the subject of barley-meal and bread. ‘First, then, dear Moschus, I will call to mind the gifts of fair-haired Demeter, and do thou lay it to heart. The

^a Kock ii. 223.

^b F.H.G. iii. 3 The quotation is corrupt.

^c Frag. 121 Schneider, apparently the *bacchylös* was connected with some Bacchic rite.

^d Kock ii. 548

^e Kock i. 45, see critical note.

^f Frag. 3 Ribbeck, 4 Brandt

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· έστι γάρ οὖν τὰ κράτιστα λαβεῖν βέλτιστά τε
· πάντων,
εὐκάρπου κριθῆς καθαρῶς ἡσσημένα¹ πάντα,²
ἐν Λέσβῳ κλεινῆς Ἐρέσου περικύμονι μαστῷ,
λευκότερος αἰθερίας χιόνος θεοὶ εἴπερ ἔδουσιν
ἄλφιτ³, ἐκείθεν ἵων Ἐρμῆς αὐτοῖς ἀγοράζει
ἔστι δὲ κάνῳ Θήβαις ταῖς ἑπταπύλοις ἐπιεικῆ
κάνῳ Θάσῳ ἐν τῷ ἄλλαις πόλεσίν τισιν, ἀλλὰ γύγαρτα
φαίνονται πρὸς ἐκεῖνα σαφεῖ τάδ' ἐπίστασο δόξῃ.
στρογγυλοδύνητος δὲ τετριψμένος εὗ κατὰ χεῖρα
κόλλιξ Θεσσαλικός σοι ὑπαρχέτω, διν καλέοντι
κεῖνοι κριμνίταν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι χόνδριων ἄρτον.
εἶτα τὸν ἐκ Τεγέης³ σεμιδάλεος υἱὸν ἐπαινῶ
ἐγκρυφίαν. τὸν δὲ εἰς ἀγορὰν ποιεύμενον ἄρτον
αἱ κλειναὶ παρέχουσι βροτοῖς κάλλιστον Ἀθῆναι.
ἐν δὲ φερεσταφύλοις Ἐρυθραῖς ἐκ κλιβάνου ἐλθὼν
λευκὸς ἄβραῖς θάλλων ὥραις τέρψει παρὰ δεῖπνον.

ταῦτ' εἰπών δ τένθης Ἀρχέστρατος καὶ τὸν τῶν
ἀρτων ποιητὴν ἔχειν συμβουλεύει Φοίνικα ἢ Λυδόν·
ε τὴν γῆν γάρ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρτοποιοὺς
ἀρίστους ὄντας. λέγει δὲ οὕτως

ἔστω δὴ σοι ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ ἢ Λυδὸς ἐν οἴκῳ,
ὅστις ἐπιστήμων ἔσται σίτοιο κατ' ἡμαρ
παντοίας ἴδεας τεύχειν, ὡς ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς

Τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἄρτων ὡς διαφόρων μνημονεύει
καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὁμφάλῃ οὕτως

πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις εὐγενῆς γεγὼς
δύναιτ’ ἂν ἔξελθεῖν ποτ’ ἐκ τῆσδε στέγης,
ὅρῶν μὲν ἄρτους τούσδε λευκοσαμάτους

¹ Meineke. ² παστά Roehl.
³ Brandt *εν Τεγέαις ACE.*

best that one may get, ay, the finest in the world,^a all cleanly sifted from the rich fruit of barley, grows where the crest^a of glorious Eresus in Lesbos is washed by the waves. It is whiter than snow from the sky. If it so be that the gods eat barley-meal, Hermes must go and buy it for them there. In seven-gated Thebes, too, there is good barley, in Thasos, also, and in some other towns; but theirs seem like grape-stones compared with the Lesbian. Grasp that with understanding sure. Supply yourself also with the round roll of Thessaly, well twisted in the maker's hand, which Thessalians call *krimnitas*, but the rest of the world calls *chondrinos*^b. Next, I recommend the scion of Tegea's fine wheat, baked in ashes. Very fine, too, is the wheat loaf made for the market which glorious Athens supplies to mortals; and the loaf which comes white from the oven in Erythrae, where grapes grow richly, and abounds in all the luxurious daintiness of the Seasons, will delight you at the feast.^c Following this description, the *chef* Archestratus advises that the bread-maker be a Phoenician or a Lydian; he did not know that the Cappadocian bakers are the best. He says^c: 'Be sure that you have in the house a man from Phoenicia or Lydia who knows how to make daily every kind of bread, no matter what you order.'

"The excellence of Athenian bread is called to mind in the following passage from the *Omphalē*^d of Antiphanes: 'How could a man of gentle breeding ever leave this roof, when he sees these white-bodied

^a lit. "breast," referring to the shape of the hill.

^b Both words refer to the coarser barley used.

^c Frag. 4 Ribbeck, 5 Brandt.

^d Kock n. 83.

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ὶπνὸν κατέχοντας ἐν πυκναῖς διεξόδοις,
ὅρῶν δὲ μορφὴν κριβάνοις ἡλλαγμένους,
μίμημα χειρὸς Ἀττικῆς, οὓς δημόταις
Θεαρίων ἔδειξεν;

οὗτός ἐστι Θεαρίων ὁ ἀρτοποιὸς οὗ μνημονεύει
Πλάτων ἐν Γοργίᾳ συγκαταλέγων αὐτῷ καὶ Μί-
θαικον οὕτως γράφων. . . . οἵτινες ἀγαθοὶ γεγό-
νασιν ἢ εἰσὶ σωμάτων θεραπευταὶ ἔλεγέ μοι πάνυ
σπουδάζων, Θεαρίων ὁ ἀρτοκόπος καὶ Μίθαικος
ε ὁ τὴν ὄψοποιάν συγγεγραφώς τὴν Σικελικὴν καὶ
Σάραμβος ὁ κάπηλος, ὅτι οὗτοι θαυμάσιοι γεγόνασι
σωμάτων θεραπευταί, ὁ μὲν ἄρτους θαυμαστοὺς
παρασκευάζων, ὁ δὲ ὄψον, ὁ δὲ οἶνον.' καὶ
'Αριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ καὶ Αἰολοσίκωνι διὰ
τούτων.

ἢκω Θεαρίωνος ἀρτοπώλιον
λιπών, ἵν' ἐστὶ κριβάνων ἔδώλια

Κυπρίων δὲ ἄρτων μνημονεύει Εῦβουλος ὡς
διαφόρων ἐν Ὁρθάνῃ διὰ τούτων.

f δεινὸν μὲν ἴδοντα παριππεῦσαι
Κυπρίους ἄρτους· Μαγνῆτις γὰρ
λίθος ὡς ἔλκει τοὺς πεινῶντας.

τῶν δὲ κολλικιῶν ἄρτων—οἱ αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς
κολλάβοις—"Ἐφιππος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι μνημονεύει
οὕτως.

παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' ἐκ Θετταλίας
κολλικοφάγου κρίβανος ἄρτων.

Ἄριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσιν.
ὡς χαῖρε κολλικοφάγε Βοιωτίδιον."

113 Τούτων οὕτω λεχθέντων ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων

loaves crowding the furnace in close ranks, and when he sees, too, how they have changed their shape in the oven—deft imitations^a made by Attic skill, which Thearion taught his countrymen?^b This Thearion is the baker whom Plato mentions in the *Gorgias*,^b coupling him with Mithaecus thus: ‘When I asked you what men have been or are good at caring for men’s bodies, you answered me with the utmost seriousness, Thearion the baker, Mithaecus, who wrote the treatise on Sicilian cookery, and Sarambus the wine-merchant; because they have proved themselves marvellous caretakers of the body, the first by making wonderful bread, the second relishes for meat, and the third by furnishing wine.’ Aristophanes, also, speaks of Thearion in *Gerytades* and again in *Aeolosicon*^c in these lines: ‘I am come from the bakehouse of Thearion, where are the ovens’ abodes.’

“ But the bread of Cyprus also is mentioned for its excellence by Eubulus in these verses of *Orthannes*^d: ‘ Hard it is to see Cyprian loaves and ride by; like a magnet they draw the hungry to them.’ And as for the buns called *kollukia*—they are the same as the *kollabor*^e—Ephippus mentions them thus in *Artemis*^f: ‘ From Alexander, from bun-eating Thessaly, comes an oven full of loaves.’ And Aristophanes in *The Acharnians*^g. ‘ Good-morning, you little bun-eating Boeotian ’ ’ ’

At the end of this recital^h one of the learned men

^a of animal forms, cf. 108 c, 109 f, 646 e.

^b 518 B. The quotation should have begun with *έμοι* *έρωτῶντος*, translated above.

^c Kock i. 392; cf. Eur. *Hecuba* 1.

^d Kock ii. 192.

^e 110 f

^f Kock ii. 250.

^g 1. 872.

^h By Pontianus.

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γραμματικῶν, Ἀρριανὸς ὄνομα “ταῦτα σιτία Κρονικά ἔστιν, ὃ ἔταιροι. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ‘οὗτ’ ἀλφί-•τοισι χαίρομεν (πλήρης γὰρ ἄρτων ἡ πόλις)¹ οὕτε τῷ τῶν ἄρτων τούτων καταλόγῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ Χρυσίππου τοῦ Τυανέως συγγράμματι ἐνέτυχον ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρτοποιικῷ καὶ πείραν ἔσχον τῶν αὐτόθι ὄνομασθέντων παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων, ἔρχομαι καὶ αὐτὸς λέξων τι περὶ ἄρτων. ὁ ΑΡΤΟΠΤΙΚΙΟΣ ἄρτος καλούμενος κλιβανικίου καὶ ἡ φουρνακίου διαφέρει ἐὰν δ’ ἐκ σκληρᾶς ζύμης ἐργάζῃ αὐτόν, ἔσται καὶ λαμπρὸς καὶ εὔβρωτος πρὸς ξηροφαγίαν· εἰ δ’ ἐξ ἀνειμένης, ἔσται μὲν ἐλαφρός, οὐ λαμπρὸς δέ. κλιβανίκιος δὲ καὶ φουρνάκιος χαίρουσιν ἀπαλωτέρᾳ τῇ ζύμῃ. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἐλλησι καλεῖται τις ἄρτος ΑΠΑΛΟΣ ἀρτυόμενος γάλακτι ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ἀλσὶ ἀρκετοῖς. δεῖ δὲ τὴν ματερίαν ἀνειμένην ποιεῦν. οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἄρτος λέγεται Καππαδόκιος, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Καππαδο-•κίᾳ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπαλὸς ἄρτος γίνεται. τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄρτον οἱ Σύροι λαχμὰν προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ἐν Συρίᾳ χρηστότατος γινόμενος διὰ τὸ θερμότατος τρώγεσθαι καὶ ἔστιν . . . ἄνθει παραπλήσιος.²

Ο δὲ ΒΩΛΗΤΙΝΟΣ καλούμενος ἄρτος πλάττεται μὲν ὡς βωλήτης, καὶ ἀλείφεται ἡ μάκτρα ὑπο-πασσομένης μήκωνος, ἐφ’ ἥ ἐπιτίθεται ἡ ματερία, καὶ ἐν τῷ ζυμοῦσθαι οὐ κολλάται τῇ καρδόπῳ. ἐπει-δὰν δ’ ἐμβληθῆ εἰς τὸν φούρνον, ὑποπάσσεται τῷ κεράμῳ χόνδρος τις καὶ τότ’ ἐπιτίθεται ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ἔλκει χρῶμα κάλλιστον, ὅμοιον τῷ φουμώσῳ τυρῷ.

¹ An unidentified quotation; Kock iii 488.

² Much has been lost, including the name of some flower.

present, Arrian by name, spoke up : " All this 'breadstuff,' comrades, is getting stale. For we have no interest either in barley (since the town is full of wheat bread), or in the list of these kinds of bread. For I have come across another treatise, beside those cited, by Chrysippus of Tyana, entitled *Bread-making*, and have made the acquaintance of all the terms here mentioned by many of our friends, and so I shall proceed to say something on my own account about bread. The bread called *aropticeus*^a differs from that baked in ovens and furnaces. If now, you make it with hard yeast, it will be white and good to eat dry ; but if with dissolved yeast, it will be light but not so white. Bread baked in the oven and furnace requires a softer yeast. The Greeks have a bread called 'soft,' which is made with a little milk and oil and sufficient salt^b ; the dough must be quite soft. This bread is called Cappadocian, since it is chiefly in Cappadocia that 'soft' bread is made. Such bread is called *lachma* by the Syrians and is found to be very serviceable in Syria, because it may be eaten when very warm. It also resembles a flower^c.

" There is also a 'boletus' bread, so-called, shaped like a mushroom. The kneading-trough is greased and sprinkled with poppy-seed, on which the dough is spread, and so it does not stick to the trough during the rising. When it is placed in the oven, some coarse meal is sprinkled over the earthenware pan, after which the loaf is laid upon it and takes on a delightful colour, like that of smoked cheese.

^a Pliny xviii. 105

^b For leaven ; cf. American "salt-rising bread"

^c See critical note.

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δ Ὁ δὲ ΣΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΙΟΣ ἄρτος συναναλαμβάνεται γάλακτι ὀλίγῳ, καὶ προσθάλλεται πέπερι καὶ ἔλαιον ὀλίγον· εἰ δὲ μή, στέαρ. εἰς δὲ τὸ καλούμενον ΑΡΤΟΛΑΓΑΝΟΝ ἐμβάλλεται οἴναριον ὀλίγον καὶ πέπερι γάλα τε καὶ ἔλαιον ὀλίγον ἢ στέαρ. εἰς δὲ τὰ ΚΑΠΤΡΙΑ τὰ καλούμενα τράκτα μίξεις ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς ἄρτολάγανον.¹”

Ταῦτ’ ἐκθεμένου τάριστάρχεια δόγματα τοῦ ‘Ρωμαίων μεγαλοσοφιστοῦ ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη· “Δάματερ σοφίας οὐκ ἐτὸς ἄρα ψαμμακοσίους εἶχει μαθητὰς ὁ θαυμάσιος Βλεψίας καὶ πλοῦτον ἀπηνέγκατο τοσοῦτον ἐκ τῆς καλῆς ταύτης σοφίας ὑπὲρ Γοργίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν. ὅθεν ὀκνῶ μὰ τὰς θεὰς εἰπεῖν πότερον αὐτὸς οὐ βλέπει ἢ οἱ ἑαυτοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῷ παραδιδόντες πάντες ἔνα ἔχουσιν ὁφθαλμόν, ὡς μόλις διὰ τὸ πλήθος ὄρâν. μακαρίους οὖν αὐτούς, μᾶλλον δὲ μακαρίτας εἶναι φῆμι τοιαύτας δείξεις τῶν διδασκάλων ποιουμένων.” πρὸς ὃν ὁ Μάγνος φιλοτράπεζος ὥν καὶ τὸν γραμματικὸν τοῦτον ὑπερεπαινῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκτένειαν ἔφη.

“οὗτοι ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιευνάδες, ἀερίοικοι,
κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Εὔβουλον,

ἀνόσιοι λάρυγγες,
ἀλλοτρίων κτεάνων παραδειπνίδες,

οὐ χῶ προπάτωρ ὑμῶν Διογένης πλακοῦντά ποτε
ἐσθίων ἐν δείπνῳ λάβρως πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον
ἔλεγεν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν καλῶς πεποιημένον; ὑμεῖς

¹ Dalechamp. ἄρτον ACE.

" *Twist* bread is prepared with the admixture of a little milk ; there is added also a little pepper and oil or lard. But in making the so-called *artolaganon* ('wheat-wafer'),^a a little wine, pepper, and milk are introduced, along with a small quantity of oil or lard. Similarly into *kapyria*, called by the Romans *tracta*, are put mixtures as into the wheat-wafer."

When the great Roman scholar had expounded this lore, worthy of Aristarchus, Cynulcus said : " In the name of Demeter, what learning ! It's no wonder our admirable Bright-eyes has disciples by the hundreds, and has won so much wealth by this splendid erudition, surpassing Gorgias and Protagoras. Wherefore I swear by the goddesses ^b that I am in doubt what to say. Can it be that he himself cannot see, or have they who entrust themselves to him as pupils only one eye among them,^c so that they can scarcely see because of their number ? Happy, then, I should call them, or rather, they have passed on to the happy state,^d since their teachers give them disquisitions like this " To him answered Magnus, a *bon vivant* who extravagantly admired the industrious zeal of this scholar " ' You, there,' to quote the words of the comic poet Eubulus,^e ' live in the air with feet unwashed, sleeping on poor^f pallets of straw, foul gullets, which slyly feed on others' stores ' Did not your progenitor Diogenes once greedily eat up a whole cake at dinner, and in reply to a question say that he was eating some very good bread ? And

^a Cf. above, 110 a.

^b Demeter and Korē.

^c Like the Phorcides (Aesch *Prom.* 794), the three Gorgons who had but one eye and one tooth among them

^d Of the dead, often called *μακαρῖται*.

^e Kock ii 212.

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δος ὁ λοπαδάγχαι' κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ποιητὴν
 Εὔβουλον, 'λευκῶν ὑπογαστριδίων,' ἔτεροις οὐκ
 παραχωροῦντες φθέγγεσθε καὶ τὰς ἡσυχίας οὐκ
 114 ἄγετε ἔως ἄν τις ὑμῖν ὡς κυνιδίοις ἄρτων ἡ ὁστέων
 προσρίψῃ. πόθεν ὑμῖν εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ κτύοι, οὐχ
 οὖς ἀεὶ μεταχειρίζεσθε, ἄρτοι εἰσὶ τετράγωνοι,
 ἥδυσμένοι ἀννήθω καὶ τυρῷ καὶ ἐλαίῳ, ὡς φησιν
 'Ηρακλεῖδης ἐν Ὁφαρτυτικῷ; παρεῖδε δὲ τοῦτον
 δὲ Βλεψίας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ΘΑΡΓΗΛΟΝ, ὃν τινες κα-
 λοῦσι θαλύσιον—Κράτης δ' ἐν β' Ἀττικῆς δια-
 λέκτου θάργηλον καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκομιδῆς
 πρῶτον γενόμενον ἄρτον—καὶ τὸν ΣΗΣΑΜΙΤΗΝ. οὐχ
 ἔώρακε δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΟΝ καλούμενον, ὃς ταῖς
 b ἄρρηφόροις γίνεται ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ ΠΤΡΑΜΟΥΣ ἄρτος
 διὰ σησάμων πεττόμενος καὶ τάχα δὲ αὐτὸς τῷ
 σησαμίτῃ ὃν. μηνημονεύει δὲ πάντων τούτων Τρύ-
 φων ἐν α' φυτικῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ΘΙΑΓΟΝΩΝ
 ὀνομαζομένων· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶν ἄρτοι θεοῖς πεττόμε-
 νοι ἐν Αἴτωλίᾳ ΔΡΑΜΙΚΕΣ δὲ καὶ ΔΡΑΜΕΙΣ¹ παρ'
 'Αθαμᾶσιν ἄρτοι τινὲς οὕτως καλοῦνται

Καὶ οἱ γλωσσογράφοι δὲ ἄρτων ὄνόματα κατα-
 λέγουσι· Σέλευκος μὲν ΔΡΑΜΙΝ ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων
 οὕτως καλούμενον, ΔΑΡΑΤΟΝ δὲ ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν.
 ΕΤΝΙΤΑΝ δὲ φησι ἄρτον εἶναι λεκιθίτην, ΕΡΙΚΙΤΑΝ δὲ
 c καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐξ ἐρητριγμένου καὶ ἀσήστου πυροῦ
 γιγνόμενον καὶ χονδρώδους. Ἄμερίας δὲ καλεῖ
 ΞΗΡΟΠΤΡΙΤΑΝ τὸν αὐτόπυρον ἄρτον· ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ
 Τιμαχίδας. Νίκανδρος δὲ θιαγόνας φησὶν ἄρτους

¹ δράμεις Kaibel: ἀράξεις A.

^a Both terms refer to the first fruits of wheat harvested in early summer.

you yourselves, ‘greedy dish-lickers of white tunny^{*} steaks’—to quote Eubulus once more—never yield place to others, but keep up your din, and refuse to be quiet until somebody tosses you a bit of bread or bone as he would to a pack of dogs. How should you know that *dice*, not the kind you always use, are square-shaped loaves seasoned with anise, cheese, and oil, as Heracleides says in his *Art of Cookery*? Our Bright-eyes has overlooked this variety, as also the *thargelos*, called by some *thalysios*^a; for Crates, in Book ii. of his *Attic Dialect*,^b says that *thargelos* is the name given to the first bread made after the harvest. He has also overlooked *sesame bread*, and has not even noticed the *anastatos*, so-called, which is prepared for the *Arrephoroi*.^c Then there is also the *pyramous*,^d baked with sesame seed and possibly the same as sesame bread Tryphon mentions all these varieties in Book i. of his *Plant Life*,^e as well as those denominated *thiagones*, which are loaves baked in honour of the gods in Aetolia. *Dramikes* also and *dramēs* are names given to certain kinds of loaves by the Athamanians

“The compilers of glossaries, also, list the names of bread. Thus Seleucus has *dramis*, name of a loaf among the Macedonians, but called *daratos* by Thessalians *Etnitas*, he says, is a bread made of pulse, while *erikitas* is the name given to a loaf made of coarsely cracked, unsifted wheat Amerias, again, calls the bread of unbolted wheat^f ‘dry-wheat bread,’ as Timachidas does also. Nicander^g says that

^b p. 63 Wachsmuth.

^c Two girls chosen for the festival Arrephoria to carry sacred objects in the procession in honour of Athena Polias.

^d Honey-cake.

^e Frag. 116 Velsen.

^f Cf. 110 e.

^g Frag. 136 Schneider, so Tryphon, 114 b.

ATHENAEUS

• Ήπ' Αἰτωλῶν καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τοῖς θεοῖς γινομένους.
• Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τὸν ὑποξίζοντ' ἄρτον κτλλαστὶν
καλοῦσιν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοφάνης Δα-
ναῖσι·

καὶ τὸν κυλλᾶστιν φθέγγου καὶ τὸν Πετόσιριν.
μνημονεύουσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐκαταῖος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος
καὶ Φανόδημος ἐν ζ' Ἀτθίδος. ὁ δὲ Θυατειρηνὸς
d Νίκανδρος τὸν ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς ἄρτον γινόμενον ὑπὸ^d
τῶν Αἰγυπτίων κυλλᾶστόν φησι καλεῖσθαι τοὺς
δὲ ρυπαροὺς ἄρτους φαιοὺς ὠνόμασεν "Αλεξίς ἐν
Κυπρίῳ οὕτως.

ἔπειτα πῶς ἥλθες; β μόλις
ὅπτωμένους κατέλαβον. α ἔξόλοι· ἀτὰρ
πόσους φέρεις, β. ἕκκαΐδεκ'. α οὖσε δεῦρο . . .
β. λευκοὺς μὲν ὅκτώ, τῶν δὲ φαιῶν τοὺς ἵσους.

ΒΛΗΜΑ δέ φησι καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐντεθρυμμένον ἄρτον
καὶ θερμὸν Σέλευκος. Φιλήμων δ' ἐν α' παντο-
δαπῶν χρηστηρίων ΠΤΡΝΟΝ φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ
e πυρῶν ἀσήστων γινόμενον ἄρτον καὶ πάντα ἐν
ἔαυτῷ ἔχοντα, ΒΛΩΜΙΑΙΟΥΣ τε ἄρτους ὀνομάζεσθαι
λέγει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐντομάς, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι κοδρά-
τους λέγουσι, ΒΡΑΤΤΙΜΗΝ τε καλεῖσθαι τὸν πιτυρίτην
ἄρτον, ὃν εὔκονον¹ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀμερίας καὶ Τιμα-
χίδας. Φιλίτας δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἀτάκτοις ΣΠΟΛΕΑ κα-
λεῖσθαι τινα ἄρτον, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν μόνον
καταναλίσκεσθαι.

Καὶ ΜΑΖΑΣ δ' ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἀναγεγραμμένας παρά
τε τῷ Τρύφωνι καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις πλείοσιν. παρ'
f Ἀθηναίοις μὲν φύστην τὴν μὴ ἄγαν τετριψμένην,

¹ ACE add τεύκονον, a dittography. Which form is right is unknown.

thiagones is the name given by Aetolians to loaves, baked in honour of the gods. Egyptians call their sourish bread *kyllastis*. Aristophanes mentions it in *The Daughters of Danaus*^a : ‘Sing, too, of sour bread and Master Petosiris.’ Others who mention it are Hecataeus,^b Herodotus,^c and Phanodemus in the seventh book of his *Attic History*^d Further, Nicander of Thyateira says that bread made of barley is called *kyllastis* by the Egyptians. The dirty loaves Alexis named ‘grey-bread’ in *The Man from Cyprus*^e : ‘A. Then how did you get here?—B. At considerable pains I got some loaves while in the baking.—A. The devil take you! However, how many have you brought?—B. Sixteen—A. Fetch them here. . . . —B. There are eight of the white, and as many of the grey.’ A *shot*, says Seleucus, is the name given to bread when hot and sopped in wine. Philemon, in *Complete List of Sacrifices*, Book i, says that bread made of unsifted wheat and containing all the elements of the grain is called *pyrnon*; loaves having incisions, he says, which the Romans call ‘squares’, are named *blomiaor*, while bread made of bran is called *brattimē*, or (by Amerias and Timachidas) *eukonos*. Moreover, Philtas, in *The Unruly*,^f speaks of a kind of bread named *spoleus*, which he says was eaten only within the family circle.

“As for *barley cakes*, one may find them also recorded in Tryphon^g and several other authors as well. Among the Athenians, to be sure, is the sort called *physié*, in which the meal is not ground very fine;

^a Kock 1. 457 ^b F H G. 1 20; cf 418 e. ^c u. 77.

^d F H G. 1 367. ^e Kock u. 340; cf. 110 d.

^f Frag. 55 Bach. The reference, apparently, is to a bread eaten by the Persian kings and members of the royal family. Cf. τὸ συγγενικὸν ἀριστον 48 e ^g Frag. 118 Velsen.

ἔστι δὲ καρδαμάλην καὶ βήρηκα καὶ τολύπας καὶ
 Ἀχιλλειον· καὶ ἵσως αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ ἐξ Ἀχιλλείων
 κριθῶν γινομένη· θριδακίνας τε καὶ οἰνοῦτταν καὶ
 μελιτοῦτταν καὶ κρίνον . . .¹ καλούμενον καὶ
 σχῆμά τι χορικῆς ὀρχήσεως παρ' Ἀπολλοφάνει ἐν
 Δαλίδι. αἱ δὲ παρ' Ἀλκμάνι θριδακίσκαι λεγό-
 μεναι αἱ αὐταὶ εἰσὶ ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς θριδακίναις.
 λέγει δὲ οὕτως δὲ Ἀλκμάν.

θριδακίσκας τε καὶ κριβάνας νῶντος²

115 Σωσίβιος δὲ ἐν γ' περὶ Ἀλκμάνος κρίβανά φησι λέ-
 γεσθαι πλακοῦντάς τινας τῷ σχήματι μαστοειδεῖς.
 ὑγίεια δὲ καλεῖται ἡ διδομένη ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις μᾶζα
 ὥντα ἀπογεύσωνται. καὶ Ἡσίοδος δὲ μᾶζάν των
 ἀμολγαίαν καλεῖ

μᾶζά τ' ἀμολγαίη γάλα τ' αἴγων σβεννυμενάων,
 τὴν ποιμενικὴν λέγων καὶ ἀκμαίαν· ἀμολγὸς γὰρ
 τὸ ἀκμαιότατον. παραιτητέον δὲ καταλέγειν—
 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως εὐτυχῶς μνήμης ἔχω—ἀντίθετο
 πόπανα καὶ πέμπατα Ἀριστομένης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος
 δὲ ἐν γ' τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας. ἔγνωμεν δὲ καὶ
 ἡμεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον νεώτεροι πρεσβύτερον.
 ὑποκριτὴς δὲ ἦν ἀρχαῖας κωμῳδίας ἀπελεύθερος
 τοῦ μουσικωτάτου βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ, καλού-
 μενος ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ Ἀττικοπέρδιξ.

Καὶ δὲ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· “οὐδὲ ἀπελεύθερος παρὰ
 τίνι κεῖται;” εἰπόντος δέ τινος καὶ δράμα ἐπι-
 γράφεσθαι Φρυνίχου Ἀπελευθέρους, Μένανδρον δὲ

¹ Supply ἔστι δὲ οὕτω.

² κριβάνας νῶντος Bergk κριβανωτάς P

but there are, besides, the ‘cress’ cake, the *berex*,^a the ‘clews,’ and the Achilleum; this last is probably made of ‘Achilles,’ or very fine barley.^b There are likewise sandwich bread,^c wine biscuit, honeycake, and lily loaf . . . (A dance figure for choruses under the name of ‘lily’ is mentioned by Apollphanes in *The Bride*^d) The *thridakiskar* mentioned in Alcman are the same as the Attic sandwich bread. Alcman has it thus:^e ‘Heaping up sandwich bread and muffins.’ Sosibius, in the third book of his commentary on Alcman, says that *kribana* is the name given to certain breast-shaped cheese-cakes. *Health* is the name of the barley-cakes distributed at festivals for all to taste. Hesiod^f calls another kind of barley-cake *amolgaia*, ‘a hearty barley-cake and milk from goats just running dry,’ meaning the shepherd’s cake full of strength; for *amolgos* refers to the height of vigour. But I must be excused from enumerating—since, in fact, I am not so fortunate as to remember—all the cakes and confections set forth by Aristomenes of Athens in the third book of *Articles pertaining to Ceremonial*. Even I, though younger, came to know this man, who was our senior. He was an actor of Old Comedy, a freedman of the highly cultivated emperor Hadrian, who called him his ‘Attic partridge.’”

Then Ulpian said: “‘Freedman’—where is that term found?” Someone replied that there was a play by Phrynicus entitled *Freedmen*, and that

cakes, with projections on top called “horns.” The “clews-bread” was moulded to resemble a clew of yarn.

^a Theophrastus vui. 4. 2, Aristoph. *Eg.* 819.

^b Eaten with lettuce, *θριδακίνη*.

^c Kock i. 797.

^d P.L.G.⁴ frag. 20.

^e Op. 590. The word *ἀμολγαῖα* refers either to the milk or to the fine quality of the meal used.

ATHENAEUS

ἐν Ῥαπιζομένῃ καὶ ἀπελευθέραν εἰρηκέναι καὶ ἐπισυνάπτοντος . . .¹ πάλιν ἔφη· “τίνι δὲ διαφέρει ἔξελευθέρου;” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔδοξε κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀναβαλέσθαι.

c Καὶ ὁ Γαληνὸς μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι τῶν ἄρτων “οὐ πρότερον,” ἔφη, “δειπνήσομεν, ἔως ὃν καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀκούσητε ὅσα εἰρήκασι περὶ ἄρτων ἣ πεμμάτων ἔτι τε ἀλφίτων Ἀσκληπιαδῶν παῖδες. Δίφιλος μὲν ὁ Σίφνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν προσφερομένων τοῖς νοσοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν ‘ἄρτοι,’ φησίν, ‘οἱ ἐκ πυρῶν κριθῶν εἰσὶ πολυτροφώτεροι καὶ εὔοικονομητότεροι καὶ τὸ ὄλον κρείτονες, εἴθ’ οἱ σεμιδαλῆται, μεθ’ οὓς οἱ ἀλευρῖται, εἴθ’ οἱ συγδοκμιστοὶ ἔξι ἀσήστων ἀλεύρων γινόμενοι· οὗτοι γάρ πολυτροφώτεροι εἶναι δοκοῦσι.’ Φιλιστίων δ’ ὁ Λοκρὸς τῶν χονδριτῶν τοὺς σεμιδαλίτας πρὸς ἴσχύν φησι μᾶλλον πεφυκέναι· μεθ’ οὓς τοὺς χονδρίτας τίθησιν, εἶτα τοὺς ἀλευρίτας. οἱ δὲ ἐκ γύρεως ἄρτοι γινόμενοι κακοχυλότεροί τέ εἰσι καὶ ὀλιγοτροφώτεροι πάντες δ’ οἱ θερμοὶ ἄρτοι τῶν ἐψυγμένων εὔοικονομητότεροι πολυτροφώτεροί τε καὶ εὐχυλότεροι, ἔτι δὲ πνευματικοὶ καὶ εὐανάδοτοι. οἱ δὲ ἐψυγμένοι πλήσμιοι, δυσοικονόμητοι. οἱ δὲ τελείως παλαιοὶ καὶ κατεψυγμένοι ἀτροφώτεροι εστατικοὶ τε κοιλαῖς καὶ κακοχυλοὶ ὁ δ’ ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος βαρὺς δυσοικονόμητός τε διὰ τὸ ἀνω-

¹ Schweighauser supplies the gap with ἀλλα τινά.

^a Kock iii. 126.

^b There is no difference, ἀπελεύθερος is commoner Cf. Eustath. 1751. 2.

^c Apparently alluding to theories of the Pneumatici, a
40

Menander in *She Who Got Slapped*^a also speaks of a "freedwoman"; he added other instances as well. Whereupon Ulpian again asked, "How does *apeleutheros* ('freedman') differ from *exeleutheros*? "^b It was decided, however, to postpone this question for the present.

Just as we were on the point of attacking our bread, Galen said: "We shall not dine until you have heard from us also what the sons of the Asclepiadae have to say about bread and cake and meal as well. First Diphilus of Siphnos, in the treatise on *Diet for Sick and Well*, declares that bread made of wheat, as compared with that made of barley, is more nourishing, more digestible, and in every way superior. In order of merit, the bread made of refined flour comes first, after that bread of ordinary wheat, and then the unbolted, made of flour that has not been sifted. These are accepted as the more nourishing. Again, Philistion of Locris says that bread made of highly refined flour tends to promote bodily vigour more than bread made of the coarse; but he rates the latter second, and after that the bread of ordinary wheat flour. Nevertheless, bread of the finest meal has a poorer flavour and less nourishment. All fresh bread is more digestible than bread that has dried up, besides being more nourishing and more juicy; further, it encourages pneumatic action^c and is easily assimilated. Dry bread, on the other hand, is surfeiting and hard to digest, and bread that is very old and dry has less nourishment, acts as an astringent in the bowels, and has a poor taste. Bread baked in the ashes is heavy and hard to digest because the

school of physicians who explained all physiological processes by the action of the breath. Wellmann 113

ATHENAEUS

μάλως ὀπτάσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἵπνίτης καὶ καμινίτης δύσ-
 πεπτοι καὶ δυσοικονόμητοι. ὁ δὲ ἐσχαρίτης καὶ
 • ἀπὸ τηγάνου διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔλαιου ἐπίμιξιν εὐεκ-
 κριτώτερος, διὰ δὲ τὸ κνισὸν κακοστομαχώτερος.¹
 ὁ δὲ κλιβανίτης πάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς περιπτέει·
 εὔχυλος γὰρ καὶ εὐστόμαχος καὶ εὐπεπτος καὶ πρὸς
 ἀνάδοσιν ρᾶστος· οὕτε γὰρ ἴστάνει κοιλίαν οὕτε
 παρατείνει. Ἀνδρέας δὲ ὁ ἱατρὸς ἄρτους τυνάς
 f φῆσιν ἐν Συρίᾳ γίνεσθαι ἐκ συκαμίνων, ὃν τοὺς
 φαγόντας τριχορρυεῖν Μηνσίθεος δέ φῆσι τὸν
 ἄρτον τῆς μάζης εὐπεπτότερον εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ
 τῆς τίφης μᾶλλον ἴκανῶς τρέφειν πέττεσθαι γὰρ
 αὐτοὺς² οὐ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου. τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν
 ζειῶν ἄρτον ἄδην φῆσιν ἐσθιόμενον βαρὺν εἶναι
 καὶ δύσπεπτον· διὸ οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς αὐτὸν
 116 ἐσθίοντας εἰδέναι δὲ ὑμᾶς δεῖ ὅτι τὰ μὴ πυρω-
 θέντα ἡ τριφθέντα σιτία φύσας καὶ βάρη καὶ
 στρόφους καὶ κεφαλαλγίας ποιεῖ.”

Μετὰ τὰς τοσαντας διαλέξεις ἔδοξεν ἦδη ποτὲ
 καὶ δειπνεῦν, καὶ περιενεχθέντος τοῦ καλουμένου
 ὥραίου ὁ Λεωνίδης ἔφη· “Εὐθύδημος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
 ἀνδρες φίλοι, ἐν τῷ περὶ ταρίχων Ἡσίοδόν φῆσι
 περὶ πάντων τῶν ταριχευομένων τάδ’ εἰρηκέναι·

άμφακες μὲν³ πρῶτον στόμα κέκριται αντα καὶ
 θιοην,⁴
 b γναθιμὸν ὃν⁵ ηὐδάξαντο δυσείμονες ἵχθυβολῆες,
 οἵς ὁ ταριχόπλεως ἄδει Βόσπορος, οἵθ⁶ ὑπόγαστρα
 τμήγοντες τετράγωνα ταρίχια τεκταίνονται.

¹ A (not CE) adds γάρ

² ACE add καὶ Perhaps αὐτοὺς ταχέως καὶ should be read.

³ Bergk brackets μὲν

baking is uneven. That which comes from a small oven or stove causes dyspepsia and is hard to digest. But bread made over a brazier or in a pan, owing to the admixture of the oil, is easier to excrete, but steam from the drying makes it rather unwholesome. Bread baked in large ovens, however, excels in all good qualities, for it is well-flavoured, good for the stomach, easily digested, and very readily assimilated; it neither binds nor distends the bowels. The physician Andreas says that there is a kind of bread in Syria made with mulberries, the eating of which causes loss of hair. Mnesitheus declares that wheat bread is more digestible than barley-cake, and that bread made of one-seeded wheat affords more adequate nourishment, since it is digested with little trouble. But bread made of rice-wheat, if eaten too abundantly, is heavy and causes dyspepsia; wherefore they who eat it are not healthy. You must understand, too, that breadstuffs which have not been parched or ground produce winds, torpor, cramps, and headache⁴

After this lengthy discussion it was decided at last to dine, and when the *hors-d'œuvre* of salt fish had been passed round Leonides said · “Euthydemus of Athens, my friends, remarks in his work on *Salt Meats* that Hesiod has this to say about salted or pickled food · ‘First in choice is the sturgeon with double-edged mouth, the fish which the rough-clad fisherfolk call the “jaw.”’ The Bosporos, rich in salt fish, delights in it, and the people there cut the belly pieces into squares and make it into a pickle. Not

⁴ Some word like *ἀντακαῖος*, “sturgeon,” seems to lurk here
Cf. vii 315 d, and Herodotus iv 53 ⁵ Kaibel adds *δν*.

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- ναὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀκλεῖτος θυητοῖς γένος ὀξυρρύγχου,
- δὲν καὶ ὅλον καὶ τμητὸν ἄλες τρηχεῖς ἐκόμισσαν.
- θύνων δὲ ὥραιών Βυζάντιον ἔπλετο μῆτηρ
- c καὶ σκόμιβρων βυθίων τε καὶ εὐχόρτου λικιβάττεω¹
- καὶ Πάριον κολιῶν κυδρὴ τροφὸς ἔσκε πολύχνη.
- Ίόνιον δὲ ἀνὰ κῦμα φέρων² Γαδειρόθεν ὅξει
- Βρέττιος ἢ Καμπανὸς ἢ ἐκ ζαθέοιο Τάραντος
- ὅρκνουο τρίγωνα, τά τη ἐν στάμνοισι τεθέντα
- ἀμφαλλάξ δείπνοισιν ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τιος μαγείρου
d εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ μουσικωτάτου Ἡσιόδου. πόθεν
γὰρ εἰδέναι δύναται Πάριον ἢ Βυζάντιον, ἔτι δὲ
Τάραντα καὶ Βρεττίονς καὶ Καμπανοὺς πολλοῖς
ἔτεσι τούτων πρεσβύτερος ὁν; δοκεῖ οὖν μοι αὐτοῦ
τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἶναι τὰ ποιήματα^a καὶ ὁ Διο-
νυσοκλῆς ἔφη. “ὅτου μέν ἐστι τὰ ποιήματα, ὁ
ἀγαθὴ Λεωνίδη, ὑμῶν ἐστι κρίνειν τῶν δοκιμωτά-
των γραμματικῶν· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ περὶ ΤΑΡΙΧΩΝ ἐστὶν ὁ
λόγος, περὶ ὧν οἵδα καὶ παροιμίαν μνήμης ἡξι-
μένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Σολέως Κλεάρχου

e σαπρὸς τάριχος τὴν ὄριγανον φιλεῖ,
ἔρχομαι κάγὼ λέξων τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὰ τῆς τέχνης.
Διοκλῆς μὲν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς Υγιεινοῖς ἐπι-
γραφομένοις τῶν ταρίχων φησὶ τῶν ἀπιμέλων
κράτιστα εἶναι τὰ ὥραια, τῶν δὲ πιόνων τὰ θύ-
νεια. Ικέσιος δὲ ἴστορεῖ οὐκ εἶναι εὐεκκρίτους
κοιλίας οὕτε πηγαμύδας οὕτε τὰ ὥραια, τὰ δὲ
νεώτερα τῶν θυντείων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν ἔχειν
τοῖς κυβίοις μεγάλην τε εἶναι διαφορὰν πρὸς πάντα

¹ Probably corrupt

² Kaibel φεύγων A

^a Cf. 4 b.

^b Requires a garnish.

inglorious in the eye of mortals, I ween, is the tribe of sharp-snouted pike, which jagged lumps of salt adorn either whole or sliced. Again, of tunnies, pickled in the right season,^a Byzantium is mother, as well as of deep-sea mackerel and well-fed sword-fish, while Parium Town is the glorious nurse of the tuna. And over the Ionian wave a Bruttian or a Campanian will bring as freight from Cadiz or holy Tarentum huge tunny hearts, which are packed tightly in jars and await the beginning of dinner.'

"These verses, in my opinion, come from some master cook rather than from the gifted Hesiod. For how could he know about Parium or Byzantium, to say nothing of Tarentum and the Bruttians and Campanians, when he lived many years before these places were settled? I believe, therefore, that the verses are Euthydemus's own." To this Dionysocles replied: "Who wrote the lines, good Leonides, it is for you others, famous critics as you are, to determine. Nevertheless, since we are on the subject of *salt fish*, I will proceed to tell what I know about it, with full details of the trade, including also a proverb which Clearchus of Soli thought worth quoting: 'Stale salt fish likes marjoram'^b Now Diocles of Carystus, in his work entitled *Hygiene*, says^c that young tunny is the best among all lean varieties of salt fish, but of all fat fish the grown tunny is the best. But Hicesius records that neither young tunnies nor those called *horata* are easy to digest, and further, that the flesh of young tunny resembles 'cube'^c tunny and hence is greatly different from

^a Tunny cut and salted in squares. Cf. the modern scientific term *Cyprin*, used of a genus of fishes of the family *Scombridae*, several members of which are here mentioned. Wellman 173.

ATHENAEUS

τὰ ὡραῖα λεγόμενα. ὁμοίως δὲ λέγει καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ὡραίων πρὸς τὰ ἄφ' ἔπερων τόπων ^f λαμβανόμενα καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν θυννείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ.”

Τούτοις προσέθηκεν δὲ Ἐφέσιος Δάφνος· “Ἀρχέστρατος μὲν δὲ περιπλεύσας τὴν οἰκουμένην γαστρὸς ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα φησί·

καὶ Σικελοῦ θύννου τέμαχος, φίλε Μόσχε, φαγεῖν
χρή;¹

τμηθὲν ὅτ’ ἐν βίκοισι ταριχεύεσθαι ἔμελλεν.

117 σαπέρδη δὲ ἐνέπω κλαίειν μακρά, Ποντικῷ ὄψι,
καὶ τοῖς κεῦνον ἐπαινοῦσιν. παῦροι γὰρ ἵσασιν
ἀνθρώπων ὅτι φαῦλον ἔφυ καὶ ἀκιδνὸν ἔδεσμα.
ἄλλὰ τριταῖον ἔχειν σκόμβρον, πρὶν ἐσ ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
ἔλθειν, ἀμφορέως ἐντὸς νέον, ἡμιτάριχον.
ἄν δὲ ἀφίκη κλεινοῦ Βυζαντίου εἰς πόλιν ἀγνήν,
ὡραίου φάγε μοι τέμαχος πάλιν ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐσθλὸν
b καὶ μαλακόν

Παρέλιπεν δὲ δέ τένθης Ἀρχέστρατος συγκαταλέξαι ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ παρὰ Κράτητι τῷ κωμῳδιοποιῷ
ἐν Σαμίοις λεγόμενον ἐλεφάντινον τάριχος, περὶ
οὗ φησιν.

σκυτίνη ποτὲ ἐν χύτρᾳ τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον
ἡψε ποντιὰς χελώνη πενκίνοισι καύμασι,²
καρκίνοι ποδάνεμοί τε καὶ τανύπτεροι λύκοι
նσοριμαχεῖν³ ἄνδρες οὐρανοῦ καττύματα.

παῖ ἐκεῖνον, ἄγχ’ ἐκεῖνον. ἐν Κέω τίς ἡμέρα;

¹ Brandt adds φίλε

χρή

² Madvig κάύμασι ACE

³ Corrupt

^a Frag. 52 Ribbeck, 38 Brandt.

^b Kock 1 139. The quotation is a riddle in more senses than one.

all the other tunny called *horaia*. In like manner he says there is a great difference in the *horaia* of Byzantium and those caught in other places, and this is true not of tunny alone, but of all other fishes taken in Byzantium.”

To these remarks the Ephesian Daphnus added the following. “ Archestratus, who made a voyage round the world to satisfy his stomach and appetites even lower, says :^a ‘ Eat, dear Moschus, a slice of Sicilian tunny, cut at the time when it should be salted in jars. But the sea-perch, a relish from Pontus, I would consign to the lowest regions, as well as all who praise it. For few there be among mortals who know that it is a poor and insipid morsel. Take, however, a mackerel three days out of the water, before it enters the pickle and while it is still new in the jar and only half-cured. And if thou go to the sacred city of glorious Byzantium, eat again, I pray you, a slice of *horaion*; for it is good and luscious.’

“ But the *chef* Archestratus has omitted to catalogue for us the so-called ‘ivory’ salt-fish mentioned by Crates, the comic poet, in *The Samians*. On this he says :^b ‘ Once upon a time a tortoise was stewing some ivory salt-fish in a leather bowl over a fire of pine boughs. Crabs there were, and long-feathered wolves^c fleet as the wind, ready to give battle to the pieces of sole-leather from the sky. Hit him! Choke him! Can you tell me, gentlemen, what day of the month it is in Ceos?’^d That this ‘ivory

^a “Wolf’s feather” was a proverb used of anything preposterous; cf. “pigeon’s milk,” “Greek Kalends,” “horse-marines,” etc.

^b i.e. can you guess the riddle? The inhabitants of Ceos were said to have no calendar.

ATHENAEUS

εῦτι δὲ διαβόητον ἦν τὸ τοῦ Κράτητος ἐλεφάντινον
τάριχος μαρτυρεῖ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζού-
σαις διὰ τούτων.

ἡν¹ μέγα τι χρῆμ² ἔτι³ τρυγωδοποιομουσική,
ἡνίκα Κράτητί τε τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον
λαμπρὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἀπόνως παρακεκλημένον
ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἔτερα μυρί⁴ ἐκιχλίζετο.

Ομοτάριχον δέ τινα κέκληκεν "Αλεξις ἐν Ἀπε-
γλαυκωμένῳ, δ' αὐτὸς ποιητὴς ἐν Πονήρᾳ περὶ
σκευασίας ταρίχων μάγειρόν τινα παράγει λέγοντα
d τάδε·

ὅμως λογίσασθαι πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι
καθεξόμενος ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὄψινίαν,
ὅμοιū τε συντάξαι τί πρῶτον οἰστέον
ἡδυντέον τε πῶς ἔκαστον ἐστί μοι.

. . . τάριχος πρῶτον ὡραῖον τοδί·
διωβόλου τοῦτ' ἐστί. πλυτέον εὖ μάλα.
εἴτ' εἰς λοπάδιον ὑποπάσας ἡδύσματα
ἐνθεὶς τὸ τέμαχος, λευκὸν οἶνον ἐπιχέας
ἐπισκεδάσας τ' ἔλαιον εἴθ' ἔψων ποῶ
μυελὸν ἀφειδῶς⁵ τ' ἐπιγανώσας σιλφίω.

ε ἐν δὲ Ἀπεγλαυκωμένῳ συμβολάς τις ἀπαιτού-
μενός φησι·

παρ' ἐμοῦ δ', ἐὰν μὴ καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον πάντα δῷς,⁴
χαλκοῦ μέρος δωδέκατον οὐκ ἄν ἀπολάβοις.
B. δίκαιος δ' λόγος ἀβάκιον, ψῆφον. A. λέγε.
B. ἔστ⁶ ὡμοτάριχος πέντε χαλκῶν. A. λέγ⁷
ἔτερον.

f B. μῆς ἐπτὰ χαλκῶν. A. οὐδὲν ἀνεβεῖς οὐδέπω,
λέγε. B. τῶν ἔχινων δύολός. A. ἀγνεύεις ἔτι.

salt-fish' of Crates was famous is proved by Aristophanes in *Thesmophoriazusae*^a: 'The comedians' art was still a big thing in the old days when Crates at a stroke brought into fashion the glistening ivory salt-fish which he had summoned, and giggled out countless other fancies like that.'

"Alexis mentions 'raw salt-fish,' also, in *The Man with a Cataract*, and the same poet in *The Lovelorn Lass*^b introduces a cook who has this to say about making salt-fish: 'Nevertheless, I mean to sit down here and reckon the cost of my menu, to plan what I must get first, and how I must season each dish. First comes this piece of *horaion*; that cost a penny. I must wash it well. Then I will sprinkle seasoning in a casserole, place the slice in it, pour over it some white wine, stir it in oil and stew it until it is as soft as marrow, covering it generously with a garnish of silphium.' And in *The Man with a Cataract*^c one of the characters, when asked to pay his share of the club dinner, replies. 'If, however, you don't render me an account of each item in detail, you shall not get from me the twelfth part of a bronze farthing —b. What you say is reasonable. Bring a counting-board and counters —a. Name the items —b. Raw salt fish, five farthings.—a. Next! —b. Mussels, seven farthings.—a. You haven't cheated yet. Next! —b. Those sea-urchins, a ha'penny.—a. Your conscience is still

^a Kock i. 480; see 104 e, note

^b Kock ii. 366.

^c Kock ii. 301.

¹ Elmsley. η ACE

² Elmsley βρῶμ' ἔστι η ACE.

³ Kock ἀφεῖλον ACE.

⁴ δῷς Kock. δ' ὡς A. But πάντα can hardly be right with καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον, hence Kaihel conj. ἔκαστον ἀποδίδως (sc λόγου)

ATHENAEUS

B. ἀρ' ἦν μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡ ράφανος, ἦν ἐβοᾶτε;
A. ναῖ.

- χρηστὴ γάρ ἦν B. ἔδωκα ταύτης δύ' ὀβολούς
A. τί γάρ ἐβοῶμεν; B. τὸ κύβιον τριωβόλου.
118 A. ὧνήν¹. κιχορίων δ' οὐκ² ἐπράξατ' οὐδὲ ἔν.
B. οὐκ οἰσθας, ὥ μακάριε, τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅτι
κατεδηδόκασι τὰ λάχαν' αἱ τρωξαλλίδες.
A. διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τάριχος τέθεικας διπλασίου;
B. ὁ ταριχοπώλης ἐστίν· ἐλθὼν πυνθάνου.
γόγγυρος δέκ' ὀβολῶν. A. οὐχὶ πολλοῦ. λέγ'
ἔτερον.
B. τὸν ὄπτὸν ἵχθῡν ἐπριάμην δραχμῆς. A. παπᾶ,
ῶσπερ πυρετός ἀνῆκεν, εἴτ' ἐν ἐπιτέλει.³
B. πρόσθετὸν οἶνον, ὃν μεθυόντων προσέλαβον
ὑμῶν, χοᾶς τρεῖς, δέκ' ὀβολῶν ὁ χοῦς.

'Ικέσιος δ' ἐν β' περὶ ὑλῆς πηλαμύδας κύβια
b εἶναι φησι μεγάλα. κυβίων δὲ μυημονεύει Ποσείδ-
ιππος ἐν Μεταφερομένῳ. Εὐθύδημος ἐν τῷ περὶ
ταρίχων τὸν δελκανόν φησιν ἵχθῡν ὀνομάζεσθαι
ἀπὸ Δέλκωνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἀλί-
σκεοθαι, καὶ ταριχευόμενον εὔστομαχώτατον εἶναι.
Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ ἵχθῡων τὸν⁴ λεβίαν ὀνομάζων
φησὶ λέγειν τινὰς ὡς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ δελκανῷ,
τὸν δὲ κορακίνον ύπὸ πολλῶν λέγεσθαι σαπέρδην
καὶ εἶναι κράτιστον τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης.
c θαυμαστοὺς δὲ εἶναι λέγει καὶ τοὺς περὶ "Αβδηρα
ἄλισκομένους κεστρεῖς, μεθ' οὓς τοὺς περὶ Σινώ-

¹ ὧνήν Capps ονεῦ A.

² κιχορίων δ' οὐκ Kaihel. κεχειρῶν γε οὐκ A.

³ Corrupt.

⁴ A adds a variant λεπτηνὸν. -

clean.—B After that, wasn't there the cabbage which you all loudly praised?—A. Yes; it was really good.—B. I paid a penny for that.—A. Why, I wonder, were we so loud in praising it?—B. The cube salt-fish cost three ha'pence.—A. A bargain, indeed! And for the endive you haven't charged a single penny!^a—B. You don't know, simpleton, the state of the market, and that the weevils have eaten up all green salads.—A. So that's why you have charged double for the salt-fish?—B. The fish-monger is to blame; go and ask him. Next comes a conger-eel, fivepence.—A. That's not much! Name the next.—B. I bought the baked fish for a shilling.—A. Ow! Like a fever—it leaves one, then rises high again.—B. Add the wine, of which I procured more when you were drunk; three bottles, at fivepence the bottle.^b

"Hicesius, in the second book of his *Materials for Food*, says that *pelamydes* are large fish-cubes. Poseidippus also mentions cubes in *The Converted Philosopher*.^c Euthydemus, in the treatise on *Salt-fish*, says that the *delcanos* is a fish named from the Delcon river, in which it is caught, and that when pickled it is very wholesome. Dorion, in his work on *Fishes*, when mentioning the *lebias* says that some declare it to be the same as the *delcanos*; that the crow-fish^d is by many called *saperdes* ('sea-perch'), and the best is that which comes from the Sea of Maeotis. He says, too, that the mullets caught off Abdera are wonderful, and next to them are the

^a For the custom of using a garnish with fish cf. Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 496 ff.

^b The *χοῦς* was a pitcher holding nearly six pints, Lat. *congius*.^c Kock iii. 430.

^d Cf. 86^e, note f; also 307 b, 312 d.

ATHENAEUS

πην, καὶ ταριχευομένους εὔστομάχους ὑπάρχειν.
τοὺς δὲ προσαγορευομένους φησὶ μύλλους ὑπὸ μέν
τινων καλεῖσθαι ἀγνωτίδια, ὑπὸ δέ τινων πλατιστά-
κους ὄντας τοὺς αὐτούς, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν χελλαρίην·
καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἔνα ὄντα ἵχθυν πολλῶν ὀνομασιῶν
τετυχηκέναι· καλεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ βάκχον καὶ ὀνί-
σκον καὶ χελλαρίην. οἱ μὲν οὖν μείζονες αὐτῶν
ὄνομάζονται πλατιστακοί, οἱ δὲ μέσην ἔχοντες
ἡλικίαν μύλλοι, οἱ δὲ βαιοὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀγνω-
τίδια. μημονεύει δὲ τῶν μύλλων καὶ Ἀριστο-
φάνης ἐν Ὁλκάσι·

σκόμβροι, κολίαι, λεβίαι, μύλλοι, σαπέρδαι,
θυννίδες.”

Ἐπὶ τούτοις σιωπήσαντος τοῦ Διονυσοκλέους ὁ
γραμματικὸς ἔφη Οὔαρος· “ ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντι-
φάνης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν Δευκαλίωνι ταρίχων τῶνδε
μέμινηται·

τάριχος ἀντακαῖον εἴ τις βούλετ’ ἥ
Γαδειρικόν, Βυζαντίας δὲ θυννίδος
δσμαῖσι¹ χαίρει.
καὶ ἐν Παρασίτῳ·

τάριχος ἀντακαῖον ἐν μέσῳ
πῶν, ὀλόλευκον, θερμόν.

ε Νικόστρατός τε ἥ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Ἀντύλλω·

Βυζάντιόν τε τέμαχος ἐπιβακχευσάτω,
Γαδειρικόν θ’ ὑπογάστριον παρεισίτω.

καὶ προελθών.

ἀλλ’ ἐπριάμην παρ’ ἀνδρός, ὡς γῆ καὶ θεοί,
ταριχοπώλου πάνυ καλοῦ τε κάγαθοῦ
τιλτὸν μέγιστον, ἅξιον δραχμῆς, δυοῖν

Sinopic, and when pickled they are wholesome. The fish called mullet, he says, are by some named *agnotidia*, by others *platistakoi*, being quite the same, as is also the *chellariēs*; for this one fish has received many appellations; it is also called *bacchus* and *oniskos* as well as *chellariēs*. The larger are called *platistakoi*, those of medium age mullets, whereas the little ones are *agnotidia*. Mullets are mentioned by Aristophanes in *The Merchantmen*^a: ‘Mackerel, sword-fish, *lebrae*, mullets, sea-perch, roe tunny.’”

Upon this, when Dionysocles^b had lapsed into silence, the scholar Varus spoke up. “Look you, the poet Antiphanes, also, mentions these pickled fish in *Deucalion*^c: ‘Salt sturgeon, if one likes it, or a Cadiz tunny; and revels in the odour of a roe tunny from Byzantium’ And in *The Parasite*^d. ‘In the middle a salt sturgeon, luscious, white throughout, and hot.’ And so Nicostratus (or Phletaerus) in *Antyllus*^e: ‘Let a Byzantine fish-slice come to our revels, and let a Cadiz belly-slice enter beside it;’ and continuing, he says: ‘Nay, but I have bought from a fishmonger, a very gentlemanly fellow, Earth and the Gods are my witness, a very large piece of salt-fish with no skin on it, worth a shilling; for a penny I bought it, though

^a Kock i. 499.

^b Daphnus is the last speaker mentioned, 116 f.

^c Kock ii. 43.

^d Kock ii. 87

^e Kock ii. 220.

¹ A begins this line with εὐφροσύναις om. CE · δσφραισι (=δσμαῖσι) Naber

ATHENAEUS

ὅβολοῦν, ὃν οὐκ ἀν καταφάγοιμεν ἡμερῶν
τριῶν ἀν ἐσθίοντες¹ οὐδὲ δώδεκα·
ὑπερμέγεθες γάρ ἔστιν.”

ἥπερ τούτοις δὲ Οὐλπιανὸς ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν Πλούτ-
αρχον ἔφη· “μήποτε οὗτις ἐν τούτοις, ὡς οὗτος,
τοὺς παρ’ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι κατέλεξε Μεν-
δησίους, ὃν οὖδε ἀν μαινόμενος κύων γεύσαυτο
ἄν ποτε, ἢ τῶν καλῶν σου ἡμινήρων ἢ τῶν τα-
119 ριχηρῶν σιλούρων.” καὶ δὲ Πλούταρχος “οὐ μὲν
ἡμίνηρος, ἔφη, τί διαφέρει τοῦ προκαταλελεγ-
μένου ἡμιταρίχου, οὐδὲ καλὸς ὑμῶν Ἀρχέστρατος
μέμνηται; ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὡνόμασεν ἡμίνηρον δὲ Πά-
φιος Σώπατρος ἐν Μυστάκου Θητίῳ οὔτως.

ἔδεξατ’ ἀντακαίον, ὃν τρέφει μέγας
“Ιστρος Σκύθαισιν ἡμίνηρον ἤδονήν

καὶ τὸν Μενδήσιον οὕτως δὲ αὐτὸς καταλέγει·

Μενδήσιός θεος ὁραῖος ἀκρόπαυστος εὖ
ξανθαῖσιν ὀπτὸς κέφαλος ἀκτῖσιν πυρός.

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ βρώματα ὅτι πολλῷ ἡδίω ἔστι τῶν
b παρὰ σοὶ περισπουδάστων κόττα καὶ λέπιδι,² οἱ
πειραθέντες ἵσασι. λέγει οὖν ἡμῶν καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ
ἀρσενικῶς δὲ τάριχος λέγεται παρ’ Ἀττικοῖς· παρὰ
γάρ Ἐπιχάρμῳ οἴδαμεν.”

“Οὐ ζητοῦντα προφθάσας δὲ Μυρτίλος ἔφη.
“Κρατῦνος μὲν ἐν Διονυσαλεξάνδρῳ·

ἐν σαργανίσιν ἄξω ταρίχους Ποντικούς.

Πλάτων Διὸς κακουμένῳ·

ῶσθε ἄττος ἔχω ταῦτα ἐσ ταρίχευς ἀπολέσω.

“Αριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν·

we could not eat it up if we ate for three days, or even twelve ; for it is huge.' " Upon this Ulpian, with a glance at Plutarch, said . " It appears that no one, sir, has mentioned in this list the Mendesian fish of you Alexandrians—fish which even a mad dog would not taste, or the excellent, half-salted varieties you have, or the pickled sweat-fish." Plutarch answered . " How does that ' half-salted ' fish differ from the ' half-pickle ' which your noble Archestratus mentioned above ^a? Yet Sopater of Paphos names ^b the half-salted in *The Slavey of Mystacus*, thus : ' He received a sturgeon, which the mighty Danube nurtures, the half-salt joy of Scythians.' And the same author mentions the Mendesian thus : ' There is the lovely Mendesian, too, lightly salted with care, and a mullet baked in the yellow beams of fire.' That these viands are much to be preferred to the " poll-fish " and " sweet-fish " so celebrated in your country, experienced persons know. Now tell us whether the word for salt-fish is masculine in Attic Greek ; for we know that it is in Epicharmus." ^c

Anticipating his answer Myrtilus said . " Yes, Cratinus has it masculine in *Dionysalexander* ^d : ' In baskets I will bring salt-fish of Pontus.' Plato, in *Zeus Outraged* ^e : ' So that all I have I shall throw away on salt-fish ' Aristophanes, in *The Men of*

^a 117 a.

^b Kaibel 194.

^c *Ibid.* 120

^d Kock 1 24.

^e Kock 1 613.

¹ ἀν οὐθίοντες Kaibel : ἥδη κατεσθίοντες A

² In ix, 385 a occur the accusative forms 'κόττανα καὶ λέπιδιν.

ATHENAEUS

c. οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τὸν τάριχον τουτονὶ¹
πλύνων ἀπασιν ὅσα σύνοιδ² αὐτῷ κακά.

Κράτης Θηρίοις·

καὶ τῶν ράφανων ἔψειν χρή,
ἰχθὺς τ'³ ὀπτᾶν τούς τε ταρίχους,
ἡμῶν δ' ἀπὸ χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι.

ιδίως δ' ἐσχημάτισται παρ'⁴ Ἐρμίππῳ ἐν Ἀρτο-
πώλισι·

καὶ τάριχος πίονα.

Σοφοκλῆς τ'⁵ ἐν Φινεῖ·

νεκρὸς τάριχος εἰσορᾶν Αἰγύπτιος.

ὑποκοριστικῶς δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ·

d. ἀγόρασόν τι χρηστὸν εἰς ἀγρὸν ταρίχιον.

καὶ Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Τί·

κρεάδιόν τι φαῦλον ἢ ταρίχιον.

Φερεκράτης ἐν Αὐτομόλοις·

ἡ γυνὴ δ' ἡμῶν ἑκάστω λέκιθον ἔψουσ⁶ ἢ φακῆν
ἀναμένει καὶ σμικρὸν ὄπτωσ⁷ ὀρφανὸν⁸ ταρίχιον.

Καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκεν ὁ τάριχος.
‘Ηρόδοτος δ'⁹ ἐν θ' οὐτως· “οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ
πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντο καὶ ἥσπαιρον.” καὶ αἱ
e παροιμίαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν λέγουσι·

τάριχος ὄπτος εὐθὺς ἂν ἵδη τὸ πῦρ
σαπρὸς τάριχος τὴν ὀρίγανον φιλεῖ.

οὐκ ἂν πάθοι τάριχος ὠνπερ ἄξιος.

‘Αττικοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐδετέρως λέγουσι, καὶ γίνεται ἡ
γενικὴ τοῦ ταρίχους. Χιωνίδης Πτωχοῖς·

ἄρ¹⁰ ἀν φάγοιτ¹¹ ἀν καὶ ταρίχους, ὡς θεοί,

Dinnerville^a. ‘I shall not scruple to drench this poor fish with all the evils I know him to be capable of.’ Crates in *Wild Animals*^b: ‘You must boil some of the cabbages, and bake the fresh and salt fish, and keep your hands off us.’ But a peculiar construction is found in Hermippus’s *Bread-Sellers*,^c ‘A fat piece of salt-fish’ Sophocles has *tarichos* masculine, meaning ‘mummy,’ in *Phineus*^d. ‘Dead as an Egyptian mummy, to judge from the looks’ A diminutive form *tarichion* is used by Aristophanes in the *Peace*^e: ‘Buy a nice little piece of salt-fish to take to the country.’ So also Cephisodorus in *The Pig*^f ‘A nasty little piece of meat or salt-fish’; and Pherecrates in *The Deserters*^g: ‘Meanwhile our wives are waiting for us, boiling for each some pease-porridge or lentils, and broiling a bit of orphan salt-fish’

“Epicharmus,^h also, has the form *tarichos* as a masculine. Herodotus, too, in Book ix.ⁱ ‘The pieces of salt-fish lying over the fire began to squirm and quiver.’ So, too, the proverbs have it in the masculine. ‘Broiled salt-fish, if it but see the fire,—’; ‘stale salt-fish likes marjoram’; ‘a piece of salt-fish will never get its deserts.’ But the word is also neuter in Attic Greek, and the genitive becomes *tarichous* Chionides in *Beggars*^k. ‘Ye gods, would you even eat some salt-fish?’ So the dative is

^a Kock 1. 441

^b Kock 1. 135.

^c Kock 1. 228; a foreigner (mother of the demagogue Hyperbolus) uses the neuter *tarichos* with a masculine adjective *piona*, “fat.”

^d T.G.F.² 285

^e 1. 563.

^f Kock 1. 802.

^g Kock 1. 151. See critical note

^h Kabel 120; cf. above, 119 b.

ⁱ ch. 120. • Cf. 116 e, note.

^k Kock 1. 5.

¹ Suspected Kock conjectures ἐριφον ḥ, “kid or.”

ATHENAEUS

ἢ δὲ δοτικὴ ταρίχει ὡς ξίφει Μένανδρος Ἐπι-
τρέπουσιν.

ἐπὶ τῷ ταρίχει τῷδε τούνυν κόπτετον.

καὶ ἐπὶ αἰτιατικῆς.

Ἐπέπασα

f ἐπὶ τὸ τάριχος ἄλας, ἐὰν οὗτῳ τύχῃ.

ὅτε δὲ ἀρσενικόν ἐστιν, ή γενικὴ οὐκέτι ἔξει τὸ στοιχεῖον τοῦ πολίτη, τὸ τάριχος ὡς καὶ πολίτας ἀναγράψαι τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου τοῦ ταριχοπώλου υἱούς, ὡς φησιν "Ἀλεξίς ἐν Επιδαύρῳ οὗτος·

τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου δ' υἱεῖς Ἀθηναίους, ὅπι
εἰσήγαγεν τάριχος, οὓς καὶ Τιμοκλῆς
ἱδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων δύο σκόμβρους ἔφη
ἐν τοῖς Σατύροις εἶναι.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑπερείδης ὁ ρήτωρ Εὐ-
θύνου δὲ τοῦ ταριχοπάλου μέμνηται Ἀντιφάνης
ἐν Κουρίδι οὕτως.

ἐλθών τε πρὸς τὸν τεμαχοπώλην, περίμενε,¹
παρ' οὐ φέρειν εἴωθα κανοῦτω τύχη^{..}

Εὐθυνος . . . ἀπολογίζων αὐτόθι

χρηστόν τι, περίμεινον¹ κέλευσον μοι² τεμεῖν

Φειδίππου δὲ—καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ταριχοπώλης—
"Αλεξίς ἐν Ἰππίσκῳ κάνω Σωράκοις·

b Φείδιππος ἔτερός τις ταριχηγὸς ξένος "

Ἐσθιόντων δὲ ήμῶν τὸ τάριχος καὶ πολλῶν

¹ Some proper name like Παρμένων should be read here (Kock).

² Schweighäuser un ACE.

tarichei, like *xiphei*.^a Menander in *The Arbitrants*^b: ‘Over this piece of salt-fish, therefore, the two are pecking.’ Also in the accusative . . . ‘I sprinkle more salt on the salt-fish, if so it befall’ But when the word is masculine, the genitive will no longer have the *s*.^d

“Now the Athenians set such store by salt-fish that they actually enrolled the sons of Chaerephilus, the salt-fish-dealer, as citizens, according to the following verses of Alexis, in *Epidaurus*^e ‘(You made) the sons of Chaerephilus citizens of Athens because he introduced salt-fish. Seeing them on horseback, Timocles said they were a pair of mackerel among the satyrs.’ The orator Hypereides also mentions them,^f and the salt-fish-dealer Euthynus is mentioned by Antiphanes in *The Hairdresser* thus^g. ‘Go to the dealer in salt-fish, the one from whom it is my habit to buy when I am in luck. It is Euthynus, . . . telling off the cost of some choice morsel. Bid him cut it in a slice for me’ Pheidippus, too, for he also was a salt-fish-dealer, is mentioned by Alexis in *The Scarf*^h and in *The Coffers*^h ‘Another man there is, a foreigner Pheidippus, leader of the salt-fish battalion.’”

As we ate our salt-fish many of us had a desire to

^a From *xiphos*, “sword.”

^b Not in the extant fragments. Kock i. 5 joined the line with the preceding from Chionides.

^c Kock iii. 52, Allinson 126.

^d Being *tarichou*.

^e Kock ii. 322. The Greek also means, “Timocles, in his *Satyrs*, said they were a pair of mackerel” The passage is a rebuke directed against Demosthenes, who caused citizenship to be conferred on them, but the aptness of the epithet cannot be seen in the short fragment.

^f Frag. 185 Blass. ^g Kock ii. 63. See critical note.

^h Kock ii. 299, 377

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δρμῆν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τὸ πιεῦν ὁ Δάφνος ἔφη ἀνατείνας
 τῷ χεῖρε· “ ‘Ηρακλεῖδης ὁ Ταραντῖνος, ἄνδρες
 φίλοι, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Συμποσίῳ φησί· ‘ ληπ-
 τέον σύμμετρον τροφὴν πρὸ τοῦ πίνειν καὶ μάλιστα
 c τὰς εἰθισμένας προπαρατίθεσθαι περιφοράς· ἐκ
 διαστήματος γὰρ εἰσφερομένας ἐναλλάττειν τὰ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ οἴνου προσκαθίζοντα τῷ στομάχῳ καὶ δηγμῶν
 αἴτια καθιστάμενα. οὕνται δέ τινες ταῦτ’ εἶναι
 καὶ κακοστόμαχα—λέγω δὴ λαχάνων καὶ ταρίχων
 γένη—δηκτικόν τι κεκτημένα, εὐθετεῖν δὲ τὰ
 κολλώδη καὶ ἐπιστύφοντα βρώματα, ἀγνοοῦντες
 ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν τὰς ἐκκρίσεις ποιούντων εὐλύτους
 d ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐστόμαχα καθέστηκεν· ἐν οἷς
 ἔστι καὶ τὸ σίσαρον καλούμενον (οὗ μνημονεύει
 ’Επίχαρμος ἐν Ἀγρωστίνῳ, ἐν Γῇ καὶ Θαλάσσῃ,
 καὶ Διοκλῆς ἐν αἱ Υγιεινῶν), ἀσπάραγος, τεῦτλον
 τὸ λευκόν (τὸ γὰρ μέλαν καθεκτικόν ἔστιν ἐκ-
 κρίσεων), κόγχαι, σωλῆνες, μύες θαλάττιοι, χῆμαι,
 κτένες, τάριχος τέλειος καὶ μὴ βρομώδης καὶ
 ἴχθύων εὐχύλων γένη. προπαρατίθεσθαι δ’ ἔστιν
 ὡφέλιμον τὴν λεγομένην φυλλίδα καὶ τευτλίον,
 ἔτι δὲ τάριχος, εἰς τὰς ὄρμας εἰς ταῦτα . . .¹
 μὴ διοίωσι τῶν πολυτρόφων ἀπολαύειν. τὰς δὲ
 ἀδρόοις ἐν ἀρχῇ πόσεις ἐκκλιτέον δύσκλητοι γὰρ
 εἰς τὴν πλείονα τῶν ὑγρῶν προσφοράν.—
 Μακεδόνες δ’, ὡς φησιν “Ἐφιππος ὁ Ὄλύνθιος
 e ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος
 ταφῆς, οὐκ ἡπίσταντο πίνειν εὐτάκτως, ἀλλ’
 εὐθέως ἐχρώντο μεγάλαις προπόσεσιν, ὥστε με-

¹ The text is defective, as noted by Casaubon.

^a A signal to stop eating.

^b Kaibel 91.

drink. And Daphnus, raising his hands,^a said: "Heracleides of Tarentum, my friends, says in his work entitled *Symposium* that a 'moderate quantity of food should be eaten before drinking, and chiefly the dishes which form the ordinary courses at the beginning of a feast. For when foods are served after an interval of drinking, they counteract the beneficial effects of wine on the stomach and become the cause of gnawing pangs. Some even think that these are unwholesome—I mean the different kinds of green vegetables and salt-fish—possessing, as they do, a pungent quality, and that the starchy and binding foods are more suitable. They are not aware that many foods which produce loose excretions cause a wholesome reaction on those of opposite nature; among these are the so-called *siser* ("skirret"), mentioned by Epicharmus in *The Rustic*^b and in *Earth and Sea*,^c and by Diocles in Book 1 of his *Hygiene*^d; also asparagus, the white beet (for the red hinders bowel action), conchs, razor-fish, sea mussels, cockles, scallops, salt-fish in perfect condition and not tainted, and different sorts of juicy-meated fish. It also is well to have an *hors-d'œuvre* of herbs and beets, or again of salt-fish, to provoke an appetite for what is to come, and to obviate the unequal effects of the heavier foods. Crowding all the drunks at the beginning is a practice to be avoided, for they render it hard to absorb any additional moisture.' But the Macedonians, as Ephippus of Olynthus observes in his account^e of the funeral of Alexander and Hephaestion, never understood how to drink in moderation, but rather drank deep at the beginning of the feast. Hence they were drunk while the first

^a *Ibid.* 95^b Wellmann 168.^c Frag 1 Muller.

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θύειν ἔτι παρακεψένων τῶν πρώτων τραπεζῶν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν σιτίων ἀπολαύειν

Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιός φησι· ‘τὰ ταρίχη τὰ ἐκ τῶν θαλασσίων καὶ λιμναίων καὶ ποταμίων γυνόμενά ἔστιν ὀλιγότροφα, ὀλιγόχυλα, καυσώδη, εὐκοίλια, ἐρεθιστικὰ ὀρέξεως. κράτιστα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀπιόνων κύβια καὶ ὥραῖα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια γένη, τῶν δὲ πιόνων τὰ θύννεια καὶ κορδύλεια. ἡ f τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ κρείσσονα καὶ δριμύτερα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Βυζάντια. τὸ δὲ θύννειον, φησί, γίνεται ἐκ τῆς μείζους πηλαμύδος, ὃν τὸ μικρὸν ἀναλογεῖ τῷ κυβίῳ, ἐξ οὗ γένους ἔστι καὶ τὸ ὥραιον.

121 δὲ σάρδα προσέοικε τῷ κολίᾳ μεγέθει ὁ δὲ σκόμβρος κούφως¹ καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῶν τοῦ στομάχου. ὁ κολίας δὲ σκιλλωδέστερος, δηκτικώτερος καὶ κακοχυλότερος, τρόφιμος· κρείσσων δὲ ὁ Ἀμυγκλανὸς καὶ Σπανὸς ὁ Σαξιτανὸς λεγόμενος· λεπτότερος γάρ καὶ γλυκύτερος· Στράβων δ' ἐν γ' Γεωγραφικῶν πρὸς ταῦς Ἡρακλέους φησὶ νήσοις κατὰ Καρχηδόνα τὴν καινὴν πόλιν εἶναι Σεξιτανίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὰ ταρίχη ἐπωνύμως λέγεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλην Σκομβροαρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισκομένων σκόμβρων, b ἐξ ὃν τὸ ἄριστον σκευάζεσθαι γάρον οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι μελανδρύαι, ὃν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος μνημονεύει ἐν Αὐτομόλῳ Ὁδυσσεῖ οὕτως·

ποτιφόριμον τὸ τέμαχος ἡς ὑπομελανδρυῶδες.

μέλανδρυς δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θύννων εἶδός ἔστιν, ὡς Πάμφιλος ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὀνομάτων παρίστησι, καὶ ἔστι τὰ τεμάχη αὐτοῦ λιπαρώτερα.

Τὸ δὲ ὡμοτάριχον, φησὶν ὁ Δίφιλος, κήτημα² τινὲς λέγουσι, καὶ ἔστι βαρὺ καὶ γλοιῶδες, προσέτι

courses were still being served, and could not enjoy their food.

" Diphilus of Siphnos says that salt-fish, whether from sea or lake or river, has little nourishment or juice ; it is dry, easily digested, and provocative of appetite. The best of the lean varieties are cubes, *horaia*, and the like ; of the fat, the tunny steaks and young tunny. When aged they are superior, being more pungent, particularly the Byzantian sorts. The tunny steak, he says, is taken from medium-sized young tunny, the smaller size resembling the cube tunny, from which class also comes the *horaion*. The Sardinian tunny is as large as the tuna. The Spanish mackerel is not heavy, but readily leaves the stomach. The tuna is rather purgative and pungent and has poorer flavour, but is filling. Better are the Amynclanian and the Spanish sort called Saxitanian, which are lighter and sweeter. Now Strabo, in the third book of his *Geography*,^a says that Sextania, from which this salt-fish gets its name, is near the Isles of Heracles, opposite New Carthage ; and that there is another town called Scombroaria^b from the scomber caught there ; from them the best fish-pickle is prepared. Then there are the so-called heart-of-oak tunny, which Epicharmus mentions thus in *Odysseus the Runaway*^c : ' Useful was the slice of heart-of-oak tunny.' Heart-of-oak is a variety of the largest-sized tunny, as Pamphilus declares in the *Onomasticon*, and the cuts taken from it are more oily.

" Raw pickle, Diphilus continues, is by some called *ketema*,^d and is heavy and sticky, besides being hard to

^a p. 156 ; he has ἡ τῶν Ἐξιτανῶν πόλις

^b " Mackerellia." ^c Kaibel 109 ; cf. vii. 315 d

^d Apparently from κῆπος, any large fish like the tunny.

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δὲ καὶ δύσπεπτον. ὁ δὲ ποτάμιος κορακῖνος, ὃν πέλτην τινὲς καλοῦσι, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου, ὃν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἴδιως ἡμένηρον ὄνομάζουσιν, ὑποπίμελος μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἥκιστα κακόχυλος, σαρκώδης, τρόφιμος, εὔπεπτος, εὐανάδοτος, κατὰ πάντα τοῦ μύλλου κρείσσων. τὰ μέντοι τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν ταρίχων ὡὰ πάντα δύσπεπτα, δύσφιθαρτα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ τῶν λιπαρωτέρων καὶ μειζόνων· σκληρότερα γάρ μένει καὶ ἀδιαιρετα. γίνεται δὲ εὐστόμαχα μετὰ ἀλῶν σβεσθέντα καὶ ἐποπτηθέντα. πάντας δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ταρίχους πλύνειν ἄχρι ἂν τὸ ὅδωρ ἀνοσμον καὶ γλυκὺ γένηται. δὸς δὲ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐψόμενος τάριχος γλυκύτερος γίνεται, θερμοί τε οἱ τάριχοι ἡδίονες εἰσιν.

Μνησίθεος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐδεστῶν ‘οἱ ἀλυκοί,’ φησίν, ‘καὶ γλυκεῖς χυμοὶ πάντες ὑπάγουσι τὰς κοιλίας, οἱ δὲ ὀξεῖς καὶ δριμεῖς λύουσι τὴν οὐρησιν, οἱ δὲ πικροὶ μᾶλλον μέν εἰσιν οὐρητικοί, λύουσι δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνιοι καὶ τὰς κοιλίας· οἱ δὲ στρυφνοὶ τὰς ἐκκρίσεις . . .’¹ Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὁ μουσικῶτας ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ‘Ιέρωνι ἡ τυραννικῶ διαβάλλων τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματά φησι· ε· τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ιέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανῆματα κατανευοήκατε ἢ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά; πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπῳ. ἄλλο τι οἴει, ἔφη ὁ Ιέρων, ταῦτα ἐδέσματα εἶναι ἢ μὴ διὰ κακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα², ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἡδέως ἐσθίουντες καὶ σύ

¹ Casaubon supplies ἵσχουσι

digest. The river crow-fish from the Nile, which some call ‘crescent,’ but which among the Alexandrians is known by the special name of ‘half-salt,’ is rather fatty, quite well-flavoured, meaty, filling, easily digested and assimilated, and in every way superior to the mullet. But the spawn of fresh and salt fish alike is hard to digest and dispose of, especially that of the fatter and larger fishes. For being harder, they remain unseparated. They become wholesome, however, when first dipped in salt and then broiled. All salt-fish should be washed until the water becomes odourless and sweet. Salt-fish cooked in sea water is sweeter, and tastes better when hot.

“ Mnesitheus of Athens, in his treatise on *Food*, says that all salt and sweet juices move the bowels, but acid and pungent juices stimulate urination; bitter juices are more diuretic, and some of them loosen the bowels; astringent juices, on the other hand (check) the excretions. But the well-informed Xenophon, in the work entitled *Hieron*,^a or *The Tyrant*, says in condemnation of such food as we have been describing : “ ‘How now?’ said Hieron ; ‘ have you noticed these many contraptions which are set before tyrants—acid, pungent, astringent, and their brothers?’ ” “ Indeed I have,” replied Simonides, “ and in my humble opinion they are very much opposed to man’s nature ” “ Do you not think,” said Hieron, “ that such viands are due to the appetites of a soul debased and sick? For they who really

“ 1. 22.

^a Xenophon’s text is . εῖναι η̄ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης τρυφῆ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα, “the appetites of a soul relaxed and weakened by luxury”

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·που οἶσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων.”

Ἐπὶ τούτοις λεχθεῖσιν ὁ Κύνουλκος πιεῖν γῆτησε δηκόκταν, δεῦν λέγων ἀλμυροὺς λόγους γλυκέσιν ἢ ἀποκλύζεσθαι νάμασι. πρὸς δὲν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς σχετιάσας καὶ τύψας τῇ χειρὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἔφη.

“ μέχρι πότε βαρβαρίζοντες οὐ παύσεσθε; ἢ ἐώς ἂν καταλιπὼν τὸ συμπόσιον δίχωμαι, πέπτειν ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους οὐ δυνάμενος,” καὶ ὅσ. “ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διατρίβων τὰ νῦν, ὡς λῷστε, ἐπιχωρίω κέχρημαι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν φωνῇ. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς σφόδρᾳ ἐλληνίζουσιν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ Περσικὰ δινόματα κείμενα διὰ τὴν τῆς χρήσεως συνήθειαν, 122 ὡς τοὺς παρασάγγας καὶ τοὺς ἀστάνδας καὶ τοὺς ἄγγάρους¹ καὶ τὴν σχοῖνον ἢ τὸν σχοῖνον· μέτρον δὲ ἔστι τοῦτο ὅδοῦ μέχρι νῦν οὕτως παρὰ πολλοῖς καλούμενον. μακεδονίζοντάς τ’ οὖδα πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀττικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν. βέλτιον δὲ ἦν μοι

ἀἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν,
οὐ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἱρετώτερος,

ἢ εἰς σὲ ἐμπεσεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι Ταύρειον ὕδωρ πιεῖν, ὅπερ σὺ οὐκ οἶσθα τί ἔστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ποιητῶν b καὶ συγγραφέων εἴρηται τινα καὶ φαῦλα. Κηφισόδωρος γοῦν ὁ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ρήγτορος μαθητὴς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην λέγει ὅτι εὔροι τις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ἢ καὶ σοφιστῶν ἐν ἦ δύο γοῦν πονηρῶς εἰρημένα, οὐα παρὰ

¹ Schweighauser · παρασάγγας καὶ τοὺς ἄστάρους ACE

“ Latin word (hence Ulpian’s rebuke), meaning wine
66

like to eat, as you doubtless know, require none of these fancy contrivances." "

Thereupon Cynulcus asked for a drink of *decocta*,^a saying that he needed to wash away salty words with fountains of sweetness. To him Ulpian replied in high dudgeon, pounding the cushion with his fist : " How long are you going to utter barbarisms without ceasing ? Must it be until I leave the symposium and go home, unable to stomach your words ? " And the other answered : " Living at present as I do, good sir, in imperial Rome, I naturally use the language of the country. And my justification is this. Even in the ancient poets and historians, those who wrote the purest Greek, one may find Persian words adopted because of their common use in the spoken language, such as 'parasangs,' 'astands' and 'angari,'^b and 'schoenus,' masculine or feminine ; this last is a measure of distance still so called among many people. I know, too, of many Attic writers who use idioms of the Macedonians as a result of intercourse with them. Yes, better it were for me 'to drink bull's blood, since Themistocles' way of dying is preferable,'^c than to get into a fight with you I would not, indeed, call for a drink of Bull water, for you do not know what that is ; nor do you understand that even the best poets and historians have used expressions not in the best taste. Cephisodorus, for example, pupil of the orator Isocrates, in the third book of his *Answer to Aristotle*, says that one may find at least one or two vulgar phrases in all other poets and rhetoricians, as, for example, the boiled to a syrup. For the poetic diction cf Plutarch, *Qu. Conv.* 706 d, Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 D

^a " Messengers " and " mounted carriers. "

^c Aristoph. *Eq.* 83.

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“μὲν Ἀρχιλόχῳ τὸ πάντ’ ἀνδρ’ ἀποσκολύπτειν, Θεοδώρῳ δὲ τὸ κελεύειν μὲν πλέον ἔχειν, ἐπαινεῦν δὲ τὸ ἵσον, Εὐριπίδῃ τε τὸ τὴν γλῶτταν ὅμωμοκέναι φάναι καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ ἐν Αἰθίοψιν εἰρημένον·

c τοιαῦτά τοί σοι πρὸς χάριν τε κού βίᾳ λέγω, σὺ δ’ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοὶ τὰ μὲν δίκαια ἐπαινεῖ, τοῦ δὲ κερδαίνεων ἔχου.

καὶ ἄλλαχον δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι ρῆμα σὺν κέρδει κακόν· Ὁμήρῳ δὲ τὸ τὴν “Ηραν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀρη μοιχεύειν· ἐφ’ οὓς πάντες κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτῶν. εἰ οὖν κάγω τι θημαρτον, ὡς καλλίστων ὀνομάτων καὶ ρήμάτων θηρευτά, μὴ χαλέπαινε. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Μιλήσιον Τιμόθεον τὸν ποιητὴν

d οὐκ ἀείδω τὰ παλαιά· καὶ νὰ γὰρ μάλα¹ κρείσσων. νέος δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει· τὸ πάλαι δ’ ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων. ἀπίτω μοῦσα παλαιά.

‘Αντιφάνης τ’ ἐν Ἀλκήστιδι ἔφη·

ἐπὶ τὸ καινουργεῦν φέρου,
οὕτως, ἐκείνως, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι
ἐν καινὸν ἔγχείρημα, καν τολμηρὸν ἦ,
πολλῶν παλαιῶν ἐστι χρησιμώτερον.

ε ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχαιοι οἴδασι τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον ὕδωρ, ὅνα μὴ πάλιν ἀγανακτήσῃς δηκόκταν μου λέγοντος, δείξω. κατὰ γὰρ Φερεκράτους Ψευδηρακλέα

εἴποι τις ἀν τῶν πάνυ δοκησιδεξίων . . .²
ἔγω δ’ ἀν ἀντείποιμι μὴ πολυπραγμόνει,
ἄλλ’ εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, πρόσεχε τὸν αὐτὸν κάκροῶ.”

¹ μάλα Bergk: καὶ ταγὰρ ἀμα Α· καὶ νὰ γὰρ CE.

² Kock notes a lacuna.

'skin every man'^a of Archilochus; the 'urging one's own profit while praising equality' of Theodorus; or 'my tongue hath sworn'^b of Euripides, and again the saying of Sophocles in *The Aethiopians*^c: 'These words of mine, then, I utter for your gratification, and not perforce, but do you yourself, like men of wisdom, praise the right while holding fast to profit.' And in another place^d also the same poet says that 'no word that brings profit is evil.' Again, there is Homer making Hera plot against Zeus,^e and Ares committing adultery,^f causing universal condemnation of them. If, then, I, too, have erred, O mighty hunter of noble words and phrases, be not angry. For as the Milesian poet Timotheus says^g: 'I sing no ancient story, for new themes are much better. New is the king now reigning, Zeus, but of old Cronus was ruler. Depart, thou Muse of the antiquated!' So, again, Antiphanes said in *Alcestis*^h: 'Speed to the fashioning of the new, this way, that way, knowing full well that one novel enterprise, even though it be overbold, is more useful than many ancient devices.' But that even the ancients know the water called by that name (not to rouse your ire again by mentioning *decocta*) I will make clear. As Pherecrates says in *The Sham Heracles*ⁱ. 'A wise man, very clever in his own conceit, might say . . . but I will answer, Be not a petty quibbler, but rather, if you please, pay attention and listen to

^a P.L.G.⁴ frag. 124, *sensu obscen.*

^b Sc. "but my heart remains unsworn," *Hippolytus* 612. The subject under discussion shifts from good taste to good morals. Aristophanes never forgave Euripides for the alleged immorality of the line, but he made good use of it himself, *Ran.* 147^j ff.

^j T G F.² 136

^a Soph. *Electra* 61

^e Il. xiv 159 ff

^f Od. viii. 266 ff.

^g P.L.G.⁵ frag. 12.

^h Kock ii 22

ⁱ Kock i 194.

ATHENAEUS

“ἀλλὰ μὴ φθονήσῃς,” ἔφη δὲ Οὐλπιανός, “δέομαι,
μηδὲ τοῦ Ταυρείου ὕδατος ὅποιόν ἐστι δηλώσαι·
τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων φωνῶν ἔγὼ διψῶ.” καὶ δὲ Κύ-
f νουλκος “ἀλλὰ προπίνω σοι,” ἔφη, “φιλοτησίαν
(διψᾶς γὰρ λόγων) παρ’ Ἀλέξιδος λαβὼν ἐκ
Πυθαγοριζούσης·

ὕδατος ἀπέφθου κύαθον· ἀν δὲ ὡμὸν πίη,
βαρὺ καὶ κοπῶδες.

τὸ δὲ Ταύρειον ὕδωρ ὠνόμασεν, ὥς φίλε, Σοφοκλῆς
Αἰγεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Τροιζῆνα ποταμοῦ Ταύρου,
123 παρ’ ὧν καὶ κρήνη τις Υδεσσα καλεῖται. ἐπί-
στανται δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ τὸ πάνυ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ
ἐν ταῖς προπόσεσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐρῶ, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ οὐ
με διδάξῃς εἰ ἔπιον θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις
οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. εἰ γὰρ οἱ κρατῆρες ἀπὸ τοῦ συμ-
βεβηκότος τῆς ὀνομασίας ἔτυχον οὗτοί τε κερα-
σθέντες¹ παρέκειντο πλήρεις, οὐ ζέον τὸ ποτὸν
παρεῖχον, λεβήτων τρόπον ὑποκαίομενοι. ὅτι γὰρ
οἴδασι θερμὸν ὕδωρ Εὔπολις μὲν ἐν Δήμοις παρ-
ίστησι.

τὸ χαλκίον
θέρμαινέ θ’ ἡμῶν καὶ θύη πέττεω τινὰ
κέλευ, ἵνα σπλάγχνοισι συγγενώμεθα.

b Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν Ὁμφάλῃ·

ἐν χύτρᾳ δέ μοι
ὅπως ὕδωρ ἔψουτα μηδέν² ὅψομαι.
οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω μηδ’ ἔχοιμ³. ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα
στρέφῃ με περὶ τὴν γαστέρ⁴ ἢ τὸν ὀμφαλόν,
παρὰ Φερτάτου δακτύλιός ἐστί μοι δραχμῆς.

ἐν δὲ Ἀλειπτρίᾳ—φέρεται τὸ δράμα καὶ ὡς
Ἀλέξιδος—.

me.' " " Nay," replied Ulpian ; " I beg you not to grudge us an explanation of what Bull water is For I am athirst for all such expressions." Cynulcus replied. " Well, then, I drink to your health (since you thirst for words), taking a line from *The Lady Devotee of Pythagoras*,^a by Alexis . ' A small cup of boiled water ; if he drink it raw, it sits heavily and causes pain ' Now Bull water, good friend, is so named by Sophocles in *Aegeus*^b from the Bull River at Troezen, by the site of which there is also a spring called Hyoessa. The ancients are also acquainted with the use of very cold water in drinking healths, but I will not quote them unless you tell me in your turn whether they drank hot water at banquets For if mixing-bowls got their name from the circumstance that water and wine were mixed in them and were thus brought on, filled to the brim, they did not light a fire under the bowls, as if they were kettles, and serve the drink hot. That they know of warm water is made clear by Eupolis in *The Demes*^c : ' Heat the bronze cauldron for us and have some sacrificial cakes cooked, that we may feed together on the entrails ' And Antiphanes in *Omphalē*^d : ' Let me not see anyone boiling water in a kettle for me There's nothing the matter with me Heaven forbid ! But if I get a twist in my belly or navel, I've got a charm which I bought of Phertatus for a shilling.' And in *The Anointer*^e (the play is also attributed to Alexis) he says : ' But if you bring

^a Kock ii. 370^b T G F.² 135.^c Kock i. 286.^d Kock ii. 84.^e Kock ii. 19.

¹ All this has been corrupted in the process of epitomizing.
Cf. Pollux ix 67-70

ATHENAEUS

εὰν δὲ τούργαστήριον ποιῆτε περιβόητον,
 c κατασκεδῶ, νὴ τὴν φύλην Δῆμητρα, τὴν μεγίστην
 ἀρύταιναν ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου βάμβασα τοῦ λέβητος
 ζέοντος ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ μή,¹ μηδέποθ' ὕδωρ πίοιμι
 ἐλευθέριον.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν δ' Πολιτείᾳ· ‘πλέονος ἄν τινος²
 ἐπιθυμία ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ εἴη; οἶνον δίψα ἔστι δίψα ἀρά
 γε θερμοῦ ποτοῦ ἢ ψυχροῦ ἢ πολλοῦ ἢ³ δλίγονος ἢ
 καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ³ ποιοῦ τινος πώματος; ἢ ἐὰν μέν
 τις θερμότης τῷ δίψει προσῆῃ, τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ
 ἐπιθυμίαν προσπαρέχοιτ³ ἄν, ἐὰν δὲ ψυχρότης, τὴν
 τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐὰν δὲ διὰ πλήθους παρουσίαν πολλὴ
 d ἡ δίψα ἢ, τὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ παρέξεται, ἐὰν δὲ δλίγη,
 τὴν τοῦ δλίγονος; αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διψῆν οὐ μή ποτε
 ἀλλού γένηται ἐπιθυμία ἢ οὖπερ πέφυκεν, αὐτοῦ
 πώματος, καὶ αὖ τὸ πεινῆν βρώματος,’

Σῆμος δὲ ὁ Δήλιος ἐν β' Νησιάδος ἐν Κιμώλῳ
 τῇ νήσῳ φησὶ ψυχεῖα κατεσκευάσθαι θέρους
 ὀρυκτά, ἔνθα χλιεροῦ ὕδατος πλήρη κεράμια κατα-
 θέντες κομίζονται χιόνος οὐδὲν διάφορα τὸ δὲ
 e χλιαρὸν ὕδωρ Ἀθηναῖοι μετάκερας καλοῦσιν, ὡς
 Σάωφιλος ἐν Ἀνδροκλεῖ. “Αλέξις δ' ἐν Λοκροῖς·

αἱ δὲ παιδες παρέχεον

ἡ μὲν τὸ θερμόν, ἡ δ' ἔτέρα τὸ μετάκερας.

καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Κορινθίᾳ. “Αμφις δ' ἐν Βαλανείω·

¹ Pierson adds μή

² πλέονος ἄν τινος and ἢ πολλοῦ ἢ added from Plato

³ ἐνὶ λόγῳ Cornarius. ἐν δλίγωι Plato and ACE Athen (or his scribe) transposes τοῦ θερμοῦ and τοῦ ψυχροῦ. The text of Plato should be read thus: “If there be any heat added to the thirst, will not that add the desire for a cold drink? Or if cold be added, the desire for a hot drink?”

scandal upon our workshop, then, by the dear Demeter, - I will turn you out, dipping your biggest ladle deep into the cauldron of boiling water. If I fail, may I never drink the water of freedom.' So Plato in *The Republic*^a. 'Can there be desire for something additional in the soul? For instance, thirst is thirst—is it for hot water or for cold, for much or for little, in a word, for a drink qualified in any way? Or if there be any heat added to the thirst, will not that add the desire for a hot drink? Or if cold be added, the desire of a cold drink? But if, again, the thirst is great because the element of quantity is present, will that not of itself add the desire for a great quantity, or if little, the desire for a little? Surely thirst, in and for itself alone, cannot be the desire for anything other than what it thirsts for, that is, a drink unqualified, and hunger, again, cannot be the desire for anything else than mere food, can it?'

"Semos of Delos, in the second book of the *Island History*,^b says that in the island of Cimolos underground refrigerators are constructed in summer, where the people store jars full of warm water and draw them out again as cold as snow. This warm water the Athenians call *metakeras* ('lukewarm')^c. Thus Sophilus in *Androcles*,^d and Alexis in *The Locrians*^e. 'The two slave-girls poured in water, the one hot, the other lukewarm.' So Philemon in *The Woman of Corinth*,^f Amphis, too, in *The Bath*^g:

^a 437 D^b More correctly Δηλιάδος, *History of Delos*, cf 109 e.
F.H.G. iv 493.^c Cf. 41 d^d Kock ii. 444.^e Kock ii. 347.^f Kock ii. 488.^g Kock ii. 237.

ATHENAEUS

ἀνεβόησ' ὅδωρ ἐνεγκεῦν θερμόν, ὅλος μετά-
κερας.”

Μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ κυνικοῦ τούτοις ἐπισωρεύειν
τινὰ ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη· “οἴδασιν, ὡς φίλτατοι
ἀνδρῶν, οἵ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάνυ ψυχροῦ πόσιν.
”Αλεξῖς γοῦν ἐν Παρασίτῳ φησί·

καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι
ὑδατός σε γεῦσαι πρᾶγμα δ’ ἔστι μοι μέγα
φρέατος ἔνδον ψυχρότερον Ἄραρότος.

δονομάζει δὲ καὶ ὉἘρμιππος ἐν Κέρκωψι φρεα-
τιῶν ὅδωρ οὐτως . . . ὅτι δὲ καὶ χιόνα¹ ἐπινον
ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένῃ ἔφη Ἄλεξις.

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εὗτ’ οὐ περίεργόν ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος φυτὸν
ὑπεναντιωτάτοις τε πλείστοις χρώμενον;
ἔρωμεν ἀλλοτρίων, παρορῶμεν συγγενεῖς,
ἔχοντες οὐδὲν εὐποροῦμεν τοῖς πέλασ,
ἔράνους φέροντες οὐ φέρομεν ἀλλ’ ἢ κακῶς.
τακτῆς τροφῆς δὲ τῆς καθ’ ἡμέραν πάλιν
γλιχόμεθα τὴν μὲν μᾶζαν ἵνα λευκὴ παρῇ,
ζωμὸν δὲ ταύτη μέλανα μηχανώμεθα,
τὸ καλόν τε χρῶμα δευσοποιῶ χρώζομεν.
καὶ χιόνα μὲν πίνειν παρασκευάζομεν,
τὸ δ’ ὄψον ἀν μὴ θερμὸν ἢ διασύρομεν.
καὶ τὸν μὲν ὀξὺν οἶνον ἐκπυτίζομεν,
ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀβυρτάκαισι δ’ ἐκβακχεύομεν.
οὐκοῦν τὸ πολλοῖς τῶν σοφῶν εἰρημένον,
τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν κράτιστόν ἔστ’ ἀεί,
ἐπάν γένηται δ’, ὡς τάχιστ’ ἔχειν τέλος.

b Δεξικράτης δ’ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ‘Γφ’ ἑαυτῶν
πλανώμενοί φησιν.

'One bawled aloud for somebody to bring him hot-water, while another called for lukewarm.'

While the Cynic was on the point of piling other instances upon these, Pontianus said : "The ancients, dear friends, knew also of the use of very cold water in drinking. Alexis, at any rate, says in *The Parasite*^a. 'Indeed, I want you to taste that water ; for I have a wonderful well in the house, more frigid than Araros.'^b Hermippus also mentions well-water thus in the *Cercopes*.^c . . . And that they also drank snow is shown by what Alexis says in *The Woman who drank Belladonna*^d : 'And so, is not man a fussy creature, always indulging in things which are quite contrary to each other ? We love strangers while neglecting our own kin ; we may be poor, yet rich in our neighbours' wealth When we bring our contributions to a club dinner we do it in niggardly spirit Again, when we come to our regular daily food we require that our barley-cake be white, yet take pains that the broth which goes with it be black, and stain the fine colour of the cake^e with the dye. We manage, too, to get snow to drink, but scold if the entrée be not hot. Sour wine, again, we spit out, but go into ecstasies over a vinegar salad. The saying, then, of many wise men holds good : Best it is not to be born at all, but if one be born, let him die with all speed.'

" So Dexicrates, in the play entitled *Self-deceivers*,

^a Kock II. 364.

^b Comic poet, son of Aristophanes, and rival of Alexis

^c Kock I. 234. The quotation is lost. ^d Kock II. 348.

^e i.e. by soaking it in the black broth. The last three lines of the quotation seem inappropriate. Cf. Soph. O.C. 1242 ff.

ATHENAEUS

- εἰ δὲ μεθύω καὶ χιόνα πίνω καὶ μύρον ἐπίσταμ' ὅτι κράτιστον Αἴγυνπτος ποιεῖ . .

Εὐθυκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἀσώτοις ἡ Ἐπιστολῇ·

πρῶτος μὲν οἶδεν εἰ χιών ἔστ' ὠνία·

πρῶτον δ' ἐκεῖνον σχαδόνα δεῖ πάντως φαγεῖν.

οἶδεν δὲ καὶ ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι τὴν διὰ χιόνος πόσιν. Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἴστορίαις καὶ ὅπως δεῖ χιόνα διαφυλάσσεσθαι εἴρηκε διηγούμενος περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλεως Πέτρας, ὅρύξαι φάσκων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅρύγματα¹ τριάκοντα ψυχεῖα, ἀ πληρώσαντα χιόνος παρεμβαλεῖν δρυὸς κλάδους. οὕτω γὰρ παραμενεῖν πλείω χρόνον τὴν χιόνα.

“Οτι δὲ καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἔψυχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψυχρότερον αὐτὸν πίνειν Στράττις φησὶν ἐν Ψυχασταῖς

d οἶνον γὰρ πιεῖν
οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δέξαιτο θερμόν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τούναντίον
ψυχόμενον ἐν τῷ φρέατι καὶ χιόνι μεμιγμένον.
καὶ ὁ Λύσιππος ἐν Βάκχαις·

“Ἐρμων, τί ἔστι; πῶς ἔχομεν, β. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ
ὅ πατήρ ἄνωθεν ἐσ τὸ φρέαρ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
ῶσπερ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ θέρους καθεῖκέ με.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Μνηματίῳ φησίν·

ψῦξον τὸν οἶνον,. Δῶρι.

Πρωταγορίδης δ' ἐν β' τῶν κωμικῶν ἴστοριῶν
ε τὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν
διηγούμενος πλοῦν λέγει τι καὶ περὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεως
ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων ἐν τούτοις. ‘τὴν γὰρ ἥμέραν

says^a: ‘ Yet if I get drunk and drink snow, and know that Egypt produces the best perfume, (what difference does it make?)’ And Euthycles, in *Wastrels*, or *The Letter*^b: “ He is the first to discover whether snow may be had in the market, and he must be the first, at all costs, to eat the new honeycomb.’ Even the excellent Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia*,^c knows of the use of snow in drinking, and Chares of Mitylene, in his *Records of Alexander*,^d tells how to keep snow, when he recounts the siege of the Indian capital Petra. He says that Alexander dug thirty refrigerating pits which he filled with snow and covered with oak boughs. In this way, he says, snow will last a long time.

“ That they also chilled wine in order to drink it rather cold is shown by Strattis in *Keeping Cool*^e: ‘ No man would prefer to drink wine hot; rather one likes it chilled in the well or mixed with snow.’ So also Lysippus in *The Bacchants*^f: ‘ a. What’s the matter, Hermon? How are we getting on?—b. How else than this? The pater has sunk me down the well, methinks, as one sinks wine in summer time.’ And Diphilus, in *The Souvenir*, says^g: ‘ Chill the wine, Doris! ’ Protagorides, in the second book of his *Comic Histories*,^h when recounting the voyage of King Antiochus down the Nile, has something to say about ingenious contrivances to get cold water. His words are these: ‘ During the day they place the

^a Kock III 374.

^b Kock I. 805.

^c II. I. 30.

^d Frag 11 Muller.

^e Kock I. 728.

^f Kock I. 700. Two brothers have been punished by their father by being put into a dark closet or cistern.

^g Kock II 559.

^h F.H.G. IV. 485.

¹ Kaibel brackets δρύματα, and reads ψυχεῖα for συχνά
ACE

ATHENAEUS

•ἀνηλιάζοντες αὐτό, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπηθοῦντες τὸ παχύτατον τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξαιθριάζουσιν ἐν ὑδρίαις κεραμέαις ἐπὶ τῶν μετεωροτάτων μερῶν τῆς οἰκήσεως, δι’ ὅλης τε τῆς νυκτὸς δύο παῖδες ὕδατι τὰ τεύχη καταρραίνουσιν ὅρθρουν δὲ καθαιροῦντες καὶ τὴν ὑποστάθμην πάλιν ὑποσπῶντες λεπτόν τε ποιοῦντες αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν οἷον ἄριστον ἐν ἀχύροις τιθέασιν τὰς ὑδρίας, εἴθ’ οὕτως χρῶνται χιόνος οὐδ’ ἡντυιοῦν χρέιαν ἔχοντες.

Λακκαίου δὲ ὕδατος μνημονεύει Ἀναξίλας ἐν Αὐλητῇ οὕτως.

ὕδατός τε λακκαίου παρ’ ἐμοῦ τουτί γέ σοι νόμιζ’ ὑπάρχειν.

125 καὶ πάλιν.

ἴσως τὸ λακκαῖόν γ’ ὕδωρ ἀπόλωλ’ ἐμόν.

Ἄπολλόδωρος δ’ ὁ Γελῶος καὶ τοῦ λάκκου αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, μνημονεύει ἐν Ἀπολιπούσῃ οὕτως.

ἀγωνιώσα τόν τε τοῦ λάκκου κάδον
λύσασα καὶ τὸν τοῦ φρέατος εὔτρεπτεῖς
τὰς ἴμονιὰς πεποίηκας.”

Τούτων ὁ Μυρτίλος ἀκούσας ἔφη· “ἔγὼ δ’ ὧν φιλοτάριχος, ὡς ἔταιροι, χιόνος πιεῖν βούλομαι κατὰ Σιμωνίδην” καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς “κεῖται μὲν δ’ φιλοτάριχος,” ἔφη, “παρ’ Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Ὁμφάλῃ οὕτως.

b οὐ φιλοτάριχος οὐδαμῶς εἰμ’, ὡς κόρη.

“Ἀλεξίς δ’ ἐν Γυναικοκρατίᾳ καὶ ζωμοτάριχόν τινα κέκληκεν ἐν τούτοις.

water in the sun, and when night comes they strain the thick sediment and again expose the water to the air in earthen jars set on the highest part of the house, while throughout the entire night two slaves wet down jars with water. At dawn they take the jars downstairs, and again drawing off the sediment, they thus make the water clear and in every way healthful. They then place the jars in heaps of chaff, and thereafter use it without the need of snow or anything else whatever.'

"Cistern water is mentioned by Anaxilas in *The Flute-player*^a thus: 'This also, from the cistern water in my house, consider at your disposal.' And again^a. 'Maybe the water in my cistern has given out.' Apollodorus of Gela mentions also the cistern itself, using our word for it, in *The Woman who left her Husband*^b: 'In your wild tantrums you have untied the bucket in the cistern and used the well-rope for your purpose.'"

When Myrtilus heard this he said · "Being a salt-fish devotee, comrades, I would like to drink snow in imitation of Simonides." To this Ulpian said : "The expression 'salt-fish devotee,' to be sure, is found in the *Omphalē*^c of Antiphanes : 'I am by no means a salt-fish devotee, my girl ;' and Alexis in *Government by Women* also calls a character 'salt-fish stew' in

^a Kock II. 264.

^b Kock III. 278. The speaker, Pontianus, identifies λάκκος with Lat. *lacus*.

^c Kock II. 84.

ATHENAEUS

δ δὲ Κίλιξ

ὅδ' Ἰπποκλῆς, δὲ ζωμοτάριχος ὑποκριτής.

τὸ δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην τί ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδα.” “ οὐ γάρ μέλει σοι,” ἔφη δὲ Μυρτίλος, “ ἴστορίας, ὡς γάστρων. κνισολοιχὸς γάρ τις εἴη καὶ¹ κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἀσιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον σ κνισοκόλαξ. Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ Σιμμύκτων φησὶν ὡς ἔστιώμενος παρά τισι Σιμωνίδης δὲ ποιητὴς ‘κραταιοῦ καύματος ὥρᾳ’ καὶ τῶν οἰνοχόων τοῖς ἄλλοις μισγόντων εἰς τὸ ποτὸν χιόνος, αὐτῷ δὲ οὖ, ἀπεσχεδίασε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα.

τήν ρά ποτ’ Οὐλύμπιοι περὶ πλευρὰς ἐκάλυψεν
ώκὺς ἀπὸ Θρήκης ὀρνύμενος Βορέης.

ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἀχλαίνων ἔδακεν φρένας, αὐτῷ
ἐκάμφθη

d ζώνη² Πιερίην γῆν ἐπιεσσαμένη.

ἐν τισ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆς χεέτω μέρος οὐ γάρ, ἔοικε
θερμὴν βαστάζειν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ πρόποσιν”

πιόντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐζήτει δὲ Οὐλπιανός. “ ποῦ
κεῖται δὲ κνισολοιχὸς καὶ τίνα ἐστὶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου
ἔπη τὰ περὶ τοῦ κνισοκόλακος,” “ τὰ μὲν οὖν
τοῦ Ἀσίου,” ἔφη δὲ Μυρτίλος, “ ἔπη ταῦτ’ ἐστιν.

χωλός, στιγματίης, πολυγήραος, ἵστος ἀλήτη
ἡλθεν κνισοκόλαξ εὗτε Μέλης ἐγάμει,

ἄκλητος, ζωμοῦ κεχρημένος. ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν

e ήρως εἰστήκει βορβόρου ἔξαναδύς.

δ δὲ κνισολοιχός ἐστι παρὰ μὲν Σωφίλῳ ἐν Φιλάρχῳ
οὕτως.

¹ καὶ added by Casaubon and deleted after ἐκεῖνον.

² ζώνη Lumb ζωὴ A

these lines^a: ‘and this Cilician Hippocles here, this salt-fish stew of an actor’ But what you mean by ‘in imitation of Simonides’ I do not know.” “No, you glutton, for you have no interest in history,” replied Myrtilus. “ You are a licker of fat, and as the old Samian poet Asius has it, you would ‘toady for a bit of fat.’ Callistratus, in the seventh book of *Miscellanies*, says that the poet Simonides was once dining with some friends ‘at the season of mighty heat,’ and when the cup-bearers mixed snow in the wine of the rest of the company, but not in his, he improvised the following epigram^b: ‘The snow with which swift Boreas, rising in Thrace, covers the sides of Olympus, and which gnaws the spirit of men unclad, and encircles and clothes as a girdle the Pierian land^c—of that snow let someone pour even into my cup a share. For it is not seemly that one should raise to the lips a hot drink to toast a friend.’” So, then, after Myrtilus had drunk, Ulpian again asked: “Where do you find the word ‘fat-licker,’ and what are the verses of Asius about ‘toadying for a bit of fat’?” “Well,” said Myrtilus, “the verses of Asius are as follows^d: ‘Lame, branded, wizened with age—like a beggar he came, toadying for a bit of fat, when Meles celebrated his wedding Uninvited though he was, he was bent on having some broth, and in the midst of them he stood, a ghost rising from the mire.’ But the word ‘fat-licker’ is in the *Philarchus*^e of Sophilus: ‘You’re a gourmand

^a Kock II 312. For the title cf. “The Monstrous Regiment of Women” ^b P.L.G.⁴ frag. 167.

^c See crit note The reading here given is superior to Porson’s ἐθάφην for ἐκάμφην. ^d P.L.G.⁴ II. 23.

^e Kock II. 446; cf. 100 a, where the title given is *Phylarchus*.

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όψιοφάγος εἵ καὶ κνισολοιχός.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Συντρέχουσι κνισολοιχίαν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

ὅ πορνοβοσκὸς γάρ μ¹ ὑπὸ κνισολοιχίας
χορδήν τιν' αἵματίτιν αὐτῷ σκευάσαι
ἐκέλευσε ταυτηρί με.

Γ τοῦ κνισολοιχοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης μνημονεύει ἐν
Βομβυλιῶ.

"Οτι δὲ ἔπινον καὶ γλυκὺν οἶνον μεταξὺ ἐσθίοντες, "Αλεξίς φησιν ἐν Δρωπίδῃ·

εἰσῆλθεν ἡταίρα φέρουσα τὸν γλυκὺν
ἐν ἀργυρῷ ποτηρίῳ, πετάχνῳ τινὶ¹
ἀστειοτάτῳ τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτε τρυβλίῳ
οὕτε φιάλῃ· μετεῖχε δ' ἀμφοῦν τοῦν ῥυθμοῖν."

Ἐξῆς ἐπεισηνέχθη πλακοῦς ἐκ γάλακτος ἵτρίων
126 τε καὶ μελιτος, ὃν Ἄρωμαῖοι λίβον καλοῦσι. καὶ
ὅ Κύνουλκος ἔφη· "ἔμπιπλασο, Οὐλπιανέ, χθωρο-
δλάψου πατρίου, ὃς παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν παλαιῶν μὰ
τὴν Δήμητρα γέγραπται πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα παρὰ
τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγεγραφόσι Σαγχούνιάθων
καὶ Μώχῳ, τοῖς σοὶς πολίταις." καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς
"ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν," ἔφη, "ὦ κυνάμυνα, μελιπήκτων
ἄλις, ἡδέως δ' ἀν χόνδρου φάγοιμι τῶν ὀστρα-
κίδων ἢ τῶν κοκκάλων ἀφθόνως ἔχοντος." καὶ
κομισθέντος "δότε," ἔφη, "μυστίλην· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
εἴποιμι μύστρον . . . παρ' οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν πρὸ
τὴν ἡμῶν εἴρημένον." "ἔπιλήσμων εἵ," ἔφη, "ὦ θαυ-
μάσιε," ὁ Αἰμιλιανός. "οὐ σὺ μέντοι τὸν Κολο-
φώνιον Νίκανδρον ἀεὶ τεθαύμακας· τὸν ἐποποιὸν ὡς

¹ Schweighauser deletes *μ'* before *ὑπὸ*.

and a fat-licker.' Also in the play entitled *Running-mates*, he has 'fat-licking' in these lines^a: 'For the brothel-keeper in his fat-licking greed told me to make him a blood sausage like this you see.' Antiphanes, also, mentions the 'fat-licker' in *The Bumble-bee*^b

"They also drank sweet wine while still eating dinner,^c as Alexis shows in *Dropides*^d: 'The girl came in, carrying the sweet wine in a silver cup which had a wide flare, very pretty to look at. It was neither bowl nor saucer, but partook of the shape of both.'"

Next there was brought in a flat pudding made of milk, meal-cakes, and honey; the Romans call it *libum*. And Cynulcus said: "Stuff yourself, Ulpian, with your native *chthorodlapsum*, a word, as Demeter is my witness, which is not recorded in any ancient writer, unless it be the historians of Phoenicia, your compatriots Sanchuniathon and Mochos." Ulpian answered: "Enough of honey-cakes, you dog-fly!^e Yet I should be glad to eat a pudding generously filled with the scales or the kernels of pine cones."^f And when it was brought he said, "Give me a *mystile*^g; for I will not use the word *mystron*, . . . which is not found in any author before our time" "Strange that you should be so forgetful," said Aemilianus. "Are you not the one who have always admired the epic poet, Nicander of Colophon,

^a Kock ii. 446.

^b Kock ii. 37.

^c Before the symposium began. See Introd., vol. i.

^d Kock ii. 317.

^e Again alluding to the Cynic school to which Cynulcus belonged; used of a pestiferous courtesan, 157 a.

^f Cf. 57 b.

^g A piece of bread used in lieu of a spoon.

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φιλάρχαιον καὶ πολυμαθῆ; καὶ ὡς τὸ πέπερι
όνομάσαντα παρέθου, οὗτος τοίνυν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ
προτέρῳ τῶν Γεωργικῶν ἐμφανίζων τὴν τοῦ χόν-
δρου χρῆσιν καὶ μύστρον ὀνόμασε διὰ τούτων.

ἀλλ' ὅπότ' ἡ ἑρίφοιο νεόσφαιγος ἦὲ καὶ ἄρνὸς
ἡὲ κλυτοῦ¹ ὅρνιθος ἔφοπλίζεσθαι ἐδωδήν,
χίδρα μὲν ἐντρύψειας ὑποστρώσας ἐνὶ κοίλοις
c ἄγγεσιν, εὐώδει δὲ μιγῇ ἀνάφυρσον ἐλαίω.
ζωμὸν δὲ βρομέοντα καταντλᾶς² . . .
· · · · · πνῦε δὲ πῶμα
ἀμφιβαλῶν φωκτὸν γὰρ ἀνοιδαίνει βαρὺ κρῦμνον.
ἡρέμα δὲ χλιαρὸν κοίλοις ἐκδαίνυσο³ μύστροις.

διὰ τούτων, ὥθαυμασιώτατε, ὑπογράφει ὁ Νίκαν-
δρος τὴν χρείαν τοῦ τε χόνδρου καὶ τῆς ἐπιτισμένης
κριθῆς, ἐπιχεῖν κελεύων ἄρνὸς ἡ ἑρίφοιον ζωμὸν ἢ
d ὅρνιθος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χίδρα, φησόν, ἐντριψον μὲν ἐν
θυείᾳ, μίξας δ' ἔλαιον αὐτοῖς ἀναφύρασον ἥντες⁴ ἀν
ἔψηγται. τὸν ἐκ τῆς τοιᾶσδε σκευῆς ἀναβρομοῦντα
ζωμὸν πυκνότερον τῇ ζωμηρύσει καταμίγνυε, μηδὲν
ἔτερον ἐπεγχέων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρυόμενος
πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ὑπερζέσαι τοῦ πιμελεστέρου. διὸ
καὶ φησι, 'κατάπνιγε τὸ ὑπερζέον ἐπιθεὶς πῶμα.'
τὸ γὰρ⁴ κρῦμνον οὕτω φωκτὸν γινόμενον ἀνοιδεῖ.
τελευταῖον δὲ πράως χλιαρὸν γενόμενον κοίλοις
προσφέρου τοῖς μύστροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ 'Ιππό-
e λοχος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λυγκέα ἐπιστολῇ δι'
ἥς ἐμφανίζει Μακεδονικόν τι δεῖπνον πολυτελείᾳ
τὰ πάντα πανταχοῦ γενόμενα ὑπερβαλόν, μητ-
μονεύει ὡς ἐκάστῳ τῶν δειπνούντων δοθέντων
μύστρων χρυσῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλάρχαιος εἶναι θέλεις

¹ Roehl; cf Hesych σ ν κλυτὸς ὅρνις: ἡ αὐτοῦ ACE

for his learning and love of the antique? Did you not cite his mention of pepper?^a Well, he is the very one who uses the word *mystron* when describing the use of the word ‘pudding,’^b in the first of his two books on *Farming*. His words are these^c: ‘But when you prepare a dish of fresh-killed kid or lamb or capon, sprinkle some groats in a hollow bowl and pound them well, then stir in a fragrant oil, well mixed. When the broth is boiling hard, pour it over the meal, put the lid on the pan, and smother it; for when it is stewed in this way, the heavy meal swells up. Serve it when mildly warm in hollow *mystra*.’ In these terms—strange that you should forget them!—Nicander indicates the use of pudding and barley-groats, directing that a broth of lamb or kid or fowl be poured over it. To repeat his words: pound the groats in a mortar, mix oil with it and stir it in the broth when it begins to boil. When, after these preliminaries, the mixture actively boils up again, it should be stirred with the ladle without adding any other ingredient; simply spoon it off as it is, to prevent any of the rich fat at the top from boiling over. That is why he says ‘put on the lid and cover the boiling liquid’; for the meal swells up when it is smothered in this way. Finally, when it has cooled to a mild heat, eat it with hollow pieces of bread. And what is more Hippolochus of Macedon, in the letter to Lynceus in which he describes a Macedonian dinner surpassing in sumptuousness any that had ever been given anywhere, even mentions gold spoons (*mystra*) given to each guest^d. And since you are so

^a 66 c^b Resembling polenta.^c Frag. 68 Schneider, cf. 129 c.² CE καταντας ἐπινήγε A The editors mark a lacuna here.³ Kaibel ἐκδαλνεο A.⁴ Schweighauser adds γάρ

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καὶ οὐδὲν φῆσ φθέγξασθαι ὁ μὴ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστι φωνῆς, ὡς φίλτατε, τί ἐστιν ὁ λέγει Νικοφῶν ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητὴς ἐν τοῦ Χειρογάστορσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον εύρισκω μνημονεύοντα τῶν μύστρων ὅταν λέγῃ.

μεμβραδοπώλαις, ἀνθρακοπώλαις,
ἰσχαδοπώλαις, διφθεροπώλαις,
ἀλφιτοπώλαις, μυστριοπώλαις,
βιβλιοπώλαις, κοσκινοπώλαις,
ἐγκριδοπώλαις, σπερματοπώλαις.

τίνες γὰρ ἂν εἴεν οἵ μυστριοπώλαι ἀλλ'¹ ἢ οἱ τὰ μύστρα πωλοῦντες; μαθὼν οὖν ἐκ τούτων, ὡς καλέ μου Συραττικέ, τὴν τοῦ μύστρου χρῆσιν ἐμφοροῦ τοῦ χόνδρου, ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς ‘ἄκικνος εἴμι κωλιγοδρανέω’

Τεθαύμακα δὲ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐζήτησας ‘ὅ δὲ 127 χόνδρος πόθεν, Μεγαρόθεν ἢ Θετταλικός;’ ὅθεν καὶ Μυρτίλος ἐστίν’² καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς “παύομαι,” ἔφη, “ἐσθίων ἔως ἂν με διδάξῃς παρὰ τίσιν εἰρηνται οὗτοι οἱ χόνδροι.” καὶ ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη. “ἀλλ’ οὐ φθονήσω σοι ὅρῶν γὰρ λαμπροτάτην δείπνου παρασκευὴν βούλομαι σε δίκην ἀλεκτρυόνος ἐμφορηθέντα τοῦ χόνδρου κορύξασθαι καὶ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν μέλλομεν ἐδεσμάτων μεταλαμβάνειν” καὶ ὃς δυσχεράνας ἔφη. “πόθεν σοι καὶ τὰ ἐδέ-
b σματα; μὴ γὰρ ἀναπαύσασθαι ἐστι ζητοῦντα ἀεί τι πρὸς τοὺς ὄψιμαθεῖς τούτους σοφιστάς,” “ἀλλὰ μήν,” ἔφη, “καὶ περὶ τούτουν σοι τὸν λόγον, ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ἀποδώσω λέξιν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ χόνδρου ‘Αντιφάνους παρατιθέμενος ἐξ Ἀντείας τάδε

ἐν ταῖς σπυρίσι δὲ τί ποτ’ ἐνεστῶν, φίλτατε,

β. ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν μὲν χόνδρος ἀγαθὸς Μεγαρικός.

fond of the antique and refuse to speak any word ^ not in the Attic dialect, let me ask you, friend, what Nicophon, poet of the Old Comedy, has to say in *Hand-to-mouth Toilers*. For I find him also mentioning spoons when he says^a. ‘ Anchovy - peddlers, charcoal-peddlers, dried-fig-peddlers, hide-peddlers, barley-peddlers, spoon-peddlers, book-peddlers, sieve-peddlers, sweet-cake-peddlers, seed-peddlers.’ For what else can *mystriopolae* be than ‘ spoon-sellers ’ ? Having learnt, then, my noble Syro-Atticist, the use of the word for spoon from these examples, eat your fill of the pudding, that you may not have to say, ‘ I am weak and faint ’^b

“ I am also surprised that you have not asked where ‘ pudding ’ comes from. Is it from Megara or Thessaly, the home of Myrtilus ? ” And Ulpian said “ I will stop eating while you tell me in what authors these puddings are mentioned.” Then Aemilianus said . “ Well, I don’t mind doing it. For as I look upon this magnificent dinner, I am quite willing that you, having had your fill of pudding, should raise your crest like a cock and instruct us concerning the dishes which we are going to share.” But Ulpian, in some vexation, replied, “ Dishes, indeed ! Are we never to get a rest from putting some question to these upstart pedants ? ” “ None the less,” replied Aemilianus, “ I am going to render you an account of this word, too I will begin the discussion of pudding by citing these lines from the *Antera*^c of Antiphanes ‘ A. Whatever have you got in those baskets, my dear ? —B. In three of them there are noble Megarian puddings.—A. But don’t

^a Kock i. 779.-

^b An anonymous quotation.

^c Kock ii. 24

¹ Wilamowitz adds ἀλλ’.

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• Α. οὐ Θετταλικὸν τὸν χρηστὸν εἶναι φασὶ δέ;

Β. τῆς . . Φοινίκης . .

σεμίδαλις, ἐκ πολλῆς σφόδροῦ ἔξητημένη.

ο τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δράμα φέρεται καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξιδος
ἐν ὀλίγοις σφόδρα διαλλάττον. ἐν δὲ Πονήρᾳ
πάλιν ὁ Ἀλέξις.

καὶ χόνδρος ἔνδον ἐστὶ Θετταλικὸς πολύς.

χόνδρον δὲ εἴρηκε τὸ ρόφημα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν
Δαιταλεῦσιν οὕτως.

ἢ χόνδρον ἔψων εἶτα μυῆναν ἐμβαλὼν
ἔδίδουν ρόφεῖν ἄν.

Καὶ σεμιδάλεως δὲ μέμνηται, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰ
μαρτύρια κρατῶ, Στράττις ἐν Ἀνθρωπορέστῃ καὶ
δι Ἀλέξις ἐν Ἰσοστασίᾳ. τὴν γενικὴν δὲ σεμιδάλιδος
εἴρηκεν δι Στράττις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δράματι οὕτῳ.

τῶν δὲ διδύμων ἐκγόνων
σεμιδάλιδος . . .

τὰ δὲ ἐδέσματα ὡνόμασεν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Διδύμοις
οὕτωσι·

ἀπέλαυσα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐδεσμάτων,
πιών τε προπόσεις τρεῖς ἵσως ἢ τέτταρας
ἐστρηγίων πως, καταβεβρωκώς σιτία
ἵσως ἐλεφάντων τεττάρων.”

Ἐχέτω τέλος καὶ ἥδε ἡ βίβλος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις
τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἔχουσα τὴν καταστροφήν.
ἀρχὴν γὰρ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξῆς ποιησόμεθα.
—οὐ πρότερόν γε, ὡς Ἀθήναιε, πρὶν ἡμῖν διελθεῖν
καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰππολόχου τὸ Μακεδονικὸν συμπόσιον.
—ἄλλ’ εἰ τοῦτο σοι φίλον, ὡς Τιμόκρατες, οὕτω
παρασκευαζώμεθα.

they say that the best come from Thessaly?—^a Yes, . . . and from Phoenicia comes the finest-sifted wheat flour.' But this same play is also ascribed to Alexis, with very divergent readings in a few passages. Alexis again, in *The Love-lorn Lass*^a: 'We've got a lot of Thessalian pudding in the house.' But Aristophanes uses the word 'pudding' of something sopped up like gruel, in *The Men of Dinnerville*^b: 'Or, when he cooked gruel, he would put a fly in it and offer it to be sopped up.'

"Very fine wheat flour, under the name *semidalis*, is mentioned by Strattis in *The Man-handler*^c and by Alexis in *Fair Measure*,^d even though I cannot quote the lines in testimony. The genitive *semidalidos* occurs in the same play of Strattis^e. 'and the twin offspring of fine wheat'^e *Edesmata*, meaning 'dishes,' are mentioned by Antiphanes in *The Twins*^f thus: 'I have enjoyed many fine dishes, drunk three or maybe four healths, and had rather a glorious time, devouring victuals enough for four elephants.'"

So let this book come to an end, concluding with this discourse on "dishes." We shall begin our banquet in what follows "Not so, Athenaeus; not at least until you have related to us the story of the Macedonian symposium as told by Hippo-lochus." Well, if that is your desire, Timocrates, let us order it so.

^a Kock ii. 368.

^b Kock i. 442.

^c Kock i. 712. The proper form of the title is '*Αὐθωποπαιῶντος*', and it is so translated. But since the play satirized Hegelochus, the actor of Euripides' *Orestes*, a natural ambiguity arose. Moreover, in Athenaeus's time both forms were pronounced alike.

^d Kock ii. 328. The title is a joking name for a courtesan. ^e Or, 'of Semidalis,' cf. 242 d. ^f Kock ii. 45.

Δ

128 Ἱππόλοχος δὲ Μακεδών, ἔταῦρε Τιμόκρατες,
 τοῖς χρόνοις μὲν γέγονε κατὰ Λυγκέα καὶ Δούριν
 τοὺς Σαμίους, Θεοφράστου δὲ τοῦ Ἱερεσίου
 μαθητάς, συνθήκας δ' εἶχε ταύτας πρὸς τὸν
 Λυγκέα, ὡς ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐπι-
 στολῶν, πάντως αὐτῷ δηλοῦν εἴ τινι συμπερι-
 ενεχθείη δείπνῳ πολυτέλει, τὰ δόμοια κάκείνου ἀντι-
 προπίνοντος αὐτῷ. ἔκατέρων οὖν σώζονται δειπνη-
 τικαὶ τινες ἐπιστολαί, Λυγκέως μὲν τὸ Λαμίας
 b τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὐλητρίδος ἐμφανίζοντος δεῖπνον
 Ἀθήνησι γενόμενον Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπί-
 κλην δὲ Πολιορκητῇ (ἐρωμένῃ δ' ἦν ἡ Λάμια
 τοῦ Δημητρίου), τοῦ δὲ Ἱππολόχου τοὺς Καράνου
 τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐμφανίζοντος γάμους καὶ ἄλλαις
 δὲ περιετύχομεν τοῦ Λυγκέως ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς
 τὸν αὐτὸν γεγραμμέναις Ἱππόλοχον, δηλούσαις
 τὸ τε Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως δεῖπνον Ἀφροδίσια
 ἐπιτελοῦντος Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
 βασιλέως. δώσομεν δέ σοι ἥμεῖς καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς
 c ἐπιστολάς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἱππολόχου σπανίως
 εὑρίσκεται, ἐπιδραμοῦμαί σοι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμ-
 μένα διατριβῆς ἔνεκα νῦν καὶ ψυχαγωγίας.

Ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦ Καράνου γάμους
 ἔστιώντος οἱ μὲν συγκεκλημένοι ἄνδρες ἥσαν

BOOK IV

HIPPOLOCHUS the Macedonian, friend Timocrates, was a contemporary of the Samians Lynceus and Duris, who were disciples of Theophrastus of Eresus ; and he had made this agreement with Lynceus—as we may learn from his letters—that he should without fail describe to him any sumptuous banquet at which he might be present, Lynceus pledging him the same in return. Accordingly there are extant “banquet letters” of both writers, Lynceus describing a dinner given at Athens in honour of King Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, by the Athenian flute-player Lamia, who was the mistress of Demetrius ; while Hippolochus describes the nuptials of Caranus the Macedonian. And there are other letters also of Lynceus which we have seen, written to the same Hippolochus, one describing the banquet of King Antigonus when he celebrated the festival of Aphrodite at Athens, another the banquet of King Ptolemy. We will give you the letters just as they are ; and since that of Hippolochus is rarely encountered, I will run through its contents for your present amusement and entertainment.

In Macedonia, as I have already said,^a Caranus celebrated his marriage with a banquet at which the number of men invited to gather was twenty ;^b no

^a Athen. 126 e.

^b See critical note (p. 92).

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εἴκοσιν¹. οἷς καὶ κατακλιθεῖσιν εὐθέως ἐδόθησαν φιάλαι ἀργυρᾶι ἑκάστῳ μίᾳ δωρεά προεστεφανώκει δὲ καὶ ἔκαστον πρὸν εἰσελθεῖν στλεγγίδι χρυσῆ πέντε χρυσῶν ἑκάστῃ δ' ἦν τὸ τίμημα δ ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπιον τὰς φιάλας, ἐν χαλκῷ πάνακι τῶν Κορινθίων κατασκευασμάτων ἄρτος ἑκάστῳ ἵσοπλατυς ἐδόθη, ὅρνεις τε καὶ μῆσσαι, προσέπι δὲ καὶ φάτται καὶ χήν καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἄλλη ἀφθονία σεσωρευμένη, καὶ ἔκαστος λαβὼν αὐτῷ² πάνακι τοῖς κατόπιν διεδίδου παισόν. ἄλλα δ' ἐσθίειν περιεφέρετο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀργυροῦς πάναξ ἔτερος, ἐφ' ὧ πάλιν ἄρτος μέγας καὶ χῆνες καὶ λαγωὶ καὶ ἕριφοι καὶ ἔτεροι ἄρτοι πεπονημένοι καὶ περιστεραὶ καὶ τρυγόνες πέρδικές οτε καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο πτηνῶν πλῆθος ἦν. “ ἐπεδώκαμεν οὖν, φησί, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς δούλοις καὶ ὡς ἄδην εἴχομεν βρώσεως ἔχερνιψάμεθα. καὶ στέφανοι εἰσηγένθησαν πολλοὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθέων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τε χρυσαῖ στλεγγίδες, ὀλκὴν ἵσαι τῷ πρώτῳ στεφάνῳ.”

129 ‘Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις εἰπὼν δ ‘Ιππόλοχος ὡς Πρωτέας ἀπόγονος ἐκείνου Πρωτέου Λανίκης υἱοῦ, ἦτις ἐγεγόνει τροφὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπιε³ πλεῖστον (ἥν γὰρ πολυπότης ὡς καὶ δ πάππος αὐτοῦ Πρωτέας δ συγγενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) καὶ ὅτι πᾶσι προῦπιεν, ἔξῆς γράφει καὶ ταῦτα. “ ἥδη δὲ ἡμῶν ἥδεως ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τοῦ σωφρονεῦν ἐπεισβάλλουσιν αὐλητρίδες καὶ μου-

¹ ἡσαν ρ' καὶ εἴκοσιν, “one hundred and twenty,” Casaubon.

sooner had they taken their places on the couches, than they were presented with silver cups, one for each, to keep as their own. Each guest, also, had been crowned before he entered with a gold tiara, worth, every one of them, five gold staters.^a And after they had emptied their cups, they were each given a bronze platter of Corinthian manufacture, containing a loaf as wide as the platter; also chickens and ducks, and ringdoves, too, and a goose, and an abundance of suchlike viands piled high; and each guest took his portion, platter and all, and distributed it among the slaves who stood behind him. Many other things to eat were handed round in great variety, following which came a second platter of silver, on which again lay a huge loaf, and geese, hares, young goats, and curiously moulded cakes besides, pigeons, turtle-doves, partridges, and other fowl in plenty. "This also," he says, "we presented to the slaves in addition, and when we had had enough of food we washed our hands. Then numerous chaplets were brought in, made of all kinds of flowers, and in addition to them all were gold tiaras, equal in weight to the first chaplet."

On top of these viands, Hippolochus says that Proteas, descendant of that Proteas who was the son of Lanicē—the same who had been the nurse of King Alexander—drank a great deal (for he was given to drinking, like his grandfather Proteas, Alexander's comrade), and toasted everybody. Hippolochus then continues with the following: "When we had at last pleasantly taken leave of all sobriety, there entered flute-girls and singers and

^a Over five guineas, or \$27.00.

σουργοὶ καὶ σαμβυκίστριαι τινες Ῥόδιαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν γυμναὶ δοκῶ, πλὴν ἔλεγόν τινες αὐτὰς ἔχειν χιτῶνας, ἀπαρξάμεναι τε ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἐπεισ-
 ἦλθον ἄλλαι φέρουσαι ληκύθους μύρου ἕκαστη
 b δύο συνδεδεμένας ἴμαντι χρυσῷ, τὴν μὲν ἀργυρᾶν,
 τὴν δὲ χρυσῆν, κοτυλιαίας, καὶ ἕκαστω προσ-
 ἔδωκαν. ἔπειτ' εἰσφέρεται πλοῦτος ἀντὶ δείπνου,
 πίναξ ἀργυροῦς ἐπὶ πάχος οὐκ ὀλίγον περίχρυσος,
 ὅσος¹ δέξασθαι μέγεθος χοίρου τινὸς ὅπτου καὶ
 σφόδρα μεγάλου, ὃς ὑπτιος ἐπέκειτο τὴν γαστέρα
 δεικνὺς ἄνω πλήρη οὖσαν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἥσαν
 γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ συνωπτημέναι κίχλαι καὶ νῆτται²
 c καὶ συκαλλίδων πλῆθος ἀπειρον καὶ ωῶν ἐπικεχυ-
 μέναι λέκιθοι καὶ ὄστρεα καὶ κτένες· καὶ ἕκαστω
 πεπυργωμένα³ αὐτοῖς πίναξιν ἐδόθη. μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα πιόντες ἐλάβομεν ἕκαστος ἕριφον ζέοντα
 ἐφ⁴ ἑτέρῳ πάλιν πίνακι τοιούτῳ σὺν μύστροις
 χρυσοῖς. ὅρῶν οὖν τὴν δυσχωρίαν ὁ Κάρανος
 κελεύει σπυρίδας ἡμῖν καὶ ἀρτοφόρα διὰ ἴμαντων
 ἐλεφαντίνων πεπλεγμένα δοθῆναι, ἐφ⁴ οἷς ἡσθέντες
 ἀνεκροταλίσαμεν τὸν νυμφίον ὡς καὶ τῶν δοθέντων
 ἡμῖν ἀνασεσωσμένων. ἔπειτα στέφανοι πάλιν καὶ
 d διλήκυθον μύρου χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν ἵσσοσταθμον
 τοῖς προτέροις. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπεισ-
 βάλλουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ κὰν τοῖς Χύτροις τοῖς Ἀθήνησι
 λειτουργήσαντες. μεθ' οὓς εἰσῆλθον ἰθύφαλλοι
 καὶ σκληροπαῖκται καί τινες καὶ θαυματουργοὶ
 γυναῖκες εἰς ξίφη κυβιστῶσαι καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ
 στόματος ἐκριπτίζουσαι γυμναί. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τού-

¹ After δσος A (but not C) adds ώστε.

² Dobree. μῆτραι, “pigs’ paunches,” codices

³ πεπυργωμένα Kaibel πεπυρωμένα AC

some Rhodian sambuca-players.^a To me these girls looked quite naked, but some said that they had on tunics. And after a prelude they withdrew. Then came in other girls carrying each two jars fastened together with a gold band and containing perfume; one jar was silver, the other gold, and held half a pint. These also they gave to each guest. After that there was brought in a fortune rather than a dinner, namely a silver platter gilded all over to no little thickness, and large enough to hold the whole of a roast pig—a big one, too—which lay on its back upon it; the belly, seen from above, disclosed that it was full of many bounties. For, roasted inside it, were thrushes, ducks, and warblers in unlimited number, pease purée poured over eggs, oysters, and scallops; all of which, towering high, was presented to each guest, platters and all. After this we drank, and then received a kid, piping hot, again upon another platter as large as the last, with spoons of gold^b Seeing, therefore, our embarrassment, Caranus ordered baskets and bread-racks made of plaited ivory strips to be given us, at which we applauded the bridegroom with delight for having rescued our gifts. Then more crowns again, and a double-jar of gold and silver containing perfume, equal in weight to the first. Quiet being restored, there trooped in men who would have graced even the religious observances at the Athenian Feast of Pots.^c After them entered ithyphallic dancers, clowns, and some naked female jugglers who performed tumbling acts among swords, and blew fire from their mouths. After

^a The *sambuca* was a triangular instrument with four strings.

^b 126 e.

^c Referring to the mummers at the Anthesteria, a festival of Dionysus.

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των ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἐκλαμβάνει πάλιν ἡμᾶς θερμός τις καὶ ζωρότερος πότος, οἵνων ὅντων ἡμῶν Θασίων καὶ Μενδαίων καὶ Λεσβίων, χρυσίδων πάνυ μεγάλων ἑκάστῳ προσενεχθεισῶν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ὑελοῦς πίναξ, δίπτηχός που τὴν διάθεμετρον, ἐν θήκῃ κατακείμενος ἀργυρῷ, πλήρης ἵχθύων ὄπτῶν πάντα γένη συνθροισμένων, ἅπασί τε προσεδόθη καὶ ἀργυροῦν ἀρτοφόρον ἄρτων Καππαδοκίων, ὃν τὰ μὲν ἐφάγομεν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐπεδώκαμεν. καὶ οὐφάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐστεφανούμεθα καὶ πάλιν στλεγγίδας ἐλάβομεν χρυσᾶς, διπλασίους τῶν πρότερον, καὶ ἄλλο διλήκυσθον μύρου.

‘Ησυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἔξαλλόμενος τῆς κλίνης ὁ Πρωτέας αὐτεῖ σκύφον χοαίον καὶ πληρώσας τοῖνος Θασίου δλίγον τι¹ ἐπιρράνας ὕδατος ἔξεπιεν ἐπειπών·

ὅ πλεῖστα πίνων πλεῖστα κεύφραινθήσεται.

καὶ ὁ Κάρανος ἔφη· ‘ἐπεὶ πρῶτος ἔπιες, ἔχε πρῶτος καὶ τὸν σκύφον δῶρον τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι ἀν πίωσιν ἔσται γέρας.’ ἐφ’ οἷς λεχθεῖσιν ‘οἱ δ’ ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέσταν’ ἀρπάζοντες κάλλος ἄλλον φθάνοντες. εἴς δὲ τῶν συνδειπνούντων ἡμῶν ἄθλιος οὐ δυνάμενος πιεῖν ἀνακαθίσας ἐκλαίειν ἀσκυφος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁ Κάρανος αὐτῷ χαρίζεται κενὸν τὸ ἔκπωμα ἐπὶ τούτοις χορὸς 130 εἰσῆλθεν ἀνθρώπων ἐκατὸν ἐμμελῶς ἀδόντων γαμικὸν ὅμινον, μεθ’ οὓς ὀρχηστρίδες διεσκευασμέναι τρόπον Νηρηγίδων, αἱ δὲ Νυμφῶν τοῦ πότου δὴ προιόντος καὶ τῆς ὥρας ὑποσκιαζούσης

¹ τι Wilamowitz τε A.

we had finished with them, our attention was next engrossed in a warm and almost neat drink,^a the wines at our disposal being Thasian, Mendaean, and Lesbian, and very large gold cups were handed to each guest. After this draught we were all presented with a crystal platter about two cubits in diameter, lying in a silver receptacle and full of a collection of all kinds of baked fish; also a silver bread-rack containing Cappadocian loaves, of which we ate some and gave the rest to the slaves. Then we washed our hands and put on crowns, again receiving gold tiaras twice the size of those we had before, and another double-jar of perfume.

"When all was quiet, Proteas jumped up from his couch and demanded a six-pint bowl, and filling it with Thasian wine with just a dash of water he drank it all saying, 'He that drinks most shall have least sorrow.'^b And Caranus said, 'Since you have been the first to drink, be the first also to receive the bowl as a gift; and this shall be the meed of all the others who drink.' At these words 'all the nine rose up'^c and seized a bowl, each striving to get ahead of the other. But one unfortunate, who of all our companions was unable to drink, sat up and wept at his bowlless state, until Caranus made him a present of the cup unfilled. After this a chorus of one hundred men entered singing tunefully a wedding hymn; then came in dancing-girls, some attired as Nereids, others as Nymphs. While then our merrymaking was proceeding, and the late hour was beginning to bring darkness, they threw open

^a "A cup of hot wine, with not a drop of allaying Tiber in't," *Coriolanus*, II. i. 52

^b Euripides, *T G F²* 541

^c *Iliad* vii. 161

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~ ἀναπεταννύουσι τὸν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ κύκλῳ δόθόναις διεἴληπτο πάντα λευκαῖς· καὶ ἀναπετασθεισῶν δᾶδες¹ ἐφάνησαν λάθρᾳ κατὰ μηχανὰς σχασθέντων τῶν φραγμάτων καὶ Ἐρωτεῖς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδες καὶ Πᾶνες καὶ Ἐρμαῖ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ εἴδωλα ἀργυροῖς δαδουχοῦντα λαμπτῆροι. θαυμαζόντων δ' ἡμῶν τὴν τεχνιτείαν Ἐρυμάνθιοι τῷ ὅντι σύαγροι κατὰ πινάκων τετραγώνων χρυσομίτρων
b σιβύναις ἀργυραῖς διαπεπερονημένοι περιεφέροντο ἔκαστω. καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον, ὅτι παρειμένοι καὶ καρηβαροῦντες ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης δόποτε τι τῶν ἀγομένων θεασαίμεθα πάντες ἔξενήφομεν, ὅρθοὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀνιστάμενοι.

"Εναττον οὖν οἱ παιδεῖς εἰς τὰς εὐτυχεῖς σπυρίδας, ἔως ἐσάλπισε τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ τελευταίου δείπνου σημεῖον· οὕτω γάρ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν οἰσθα ἔθος ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρώποις εὐωχίαις c γινόμενον. καὶ ὁ Κάρανος ἄρξας πότου μικροῖς ἐκπώμασι περισοβεῖν ἐκέλευε τοῖς παισίν. ἐπίνομεν οὖν εὔμαρως ὥσπερ ἀντίδοτον ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἀκρατοποσίας λαμβάνοντες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ γελωτοποιὸς εἰσῆλθε Μανδρογένης, ἐκείνου Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ, ὡς φασιν, ἀπόγονος καὶ πολλοὺς κατέρρηξεν ἡμῖν² γέλωτας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡρχεῖτο μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔτη οὔσης ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄγδοήκοντα. καὶ τελευταῖαι ἐπεισῆλθον ἐπιδόρπιαι τράπεζαι, τραγήματά τ' ἐν πλεκτοῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις ἐπεδόθη πᾶσι καὶ πλακοῦντες ἔκαστα d γένη, Κρητικῶν καὶ τῶν σῶν, ἔταῖρε Λιγυκεῦ, Σαμιακῶν καὶ Ἀττικῶν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἴδιαις τῶν πεμμάτων θήκαις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔξαναστάντες
1 δᾶδες AC Naiðes ("Naiads") Kaibel. 2 ἡμῖν Meyer ἡμῶν AC

the room, which had been curtained all about with white linen ; and when this was drawn back, the barriers being let down by a hidden contrivance, there rose to our view torches : Cupids and Dianas, Pans and Hermae and many similar figures held the lights in silver brackets. While we were admiring this artistic device, veritable Erymanthian^a boars were served to each guest, on square platters rimmed with gold ; they were skewered with silver spears. The wonderful thing about it was, that though relaxed and heavy with wine, as soon as we saw any of these things introduced we all became sober enough to stand on our feet, as the saying is.^b

" Well, the slaves began to stuff our happy baskets full until the customary signal for concluding the banquet was sounded on the trumpet ; for this, as you know, is the Macedonian practice at dinners attended by many guests. Then Caranus, leading off the drinking in small cups, ordered the slaves to circulate them quickly. We, therefore, sipped them gently as an antidote to the drinking of unmixed wine which had gone before. Meanwhile, the clown Mandrogenes had come in, a descendant, so they say, of the celebrated Athenian clown Straton. He caused many a loud laugh among us by his jokes, and afterwards danced with his wife, who was over eighty years old. And last there came in the concluding courses ; that is, dessert in ivory baskets, and flat cakes of every variety, Cretan and your own Samian, friend Lynceus, and Attic, were given to all as a present along with the boxes in which they were separately packed. So, after this, we

^a i.e. as huge as the one which Heracles overcame on Mt. Erymanthus.

^b Cf. *Iliad* xxiv. 11.

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~ ἀπηλλαττόμεθα νήφοντες νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ πλούτου δὲν ἐλάβομεν σὺ δὲ μᾶλλον,¹ ἐν Ἀθήναις μένων, εὐδαιμονίζεις τὰς Θεοφράστου θέσεις ἀκούων, θύμα καὶ εὔζωμα καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς ἐσθίων στρεπτούς, Λήναια καὶ Χύτρους θεωρῶν. ήμεν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Καράνου δείπνου πλούτου ἀντὶ μερίδων εὐωχηθέντες νῦν ζητοῦμεν οἱ μὲν οἰκίας, οἱ δὲ ἄγρούς, οἱ δὲ ἀνδράποδος ὡνήσασθαι.”

e Εἰς ταῦτα, ω̄ ἔταιρε Τιμόκρατες, ἀποβλέπων τίνι συγκρῖναι ἔχεις τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δείπνων τὸ προκείμενον τοῦτο συμπόσιον; δόποτε καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν Οἰνομάῳ ἢ Πέλοπι διαπαιζῶν ἔφη.

τί δὲ ἀν “Ελληνες μικροτράπεζοι,
φυλλοτρῶγες δράσειαν; δῆπον
τέτταρα λήψῃ κρέα μίκρον ὅβιολον.
παρὰ δὲ ἡμετέροις προγόνοισιν ὅλους
f βοῦς ὥπτων, ὃς,² ἐλάφους, ἄρνας·
τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ μάγειρος ὅλον
τέρας ὀπτήσας μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ
θερμὴν παρέθηκε κάμηλον.

ὅτι Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσι καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμφανίζων τὴν μεγαλειότητά φησιν.

πρ. εἴτε ἐξένιζε παρετίθει θεόν τον δέλιον
131 ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς. δικ. καὶ τίς εἶδε πώποτε
βοῦς κριβανίτας; τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων.
πρ. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Διὸν δρυν τριπλάσιον Κλεωνύμου
παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν. ὅνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ φέναξ.

Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ἐν Πρωτεισιλάῳ διασύρων τὸ τῶν Ἰφικράτους γάμων συμπόσιον, δῆτε ἤγετο

arose and took our leave, quite sober—the gods be my witness¹—because we were apprehensive for the safety of the wealth we took with us. But you, staying in Athens, think it happiness rather to listen to the precepts of Theophrastus, eating wild thyme and rocket-seed and your esteemed rolls while you attend the festivals of the Lenaea and the Pots²! We, however, have carried away a fortune from Caranus's banquet instead of trifling portions, and are now looking for houses or lands or slaves to buy."

With this example before our eyes, friend Timocrates, what Greek banquet can you compare with the symposium just described? Why, even Antiphanes, the comic poet, once said disparagingly in the *Oenomaus* (or *Pelops*)^a: "But what could leaf-chewing Greeks, scant of table, accomplish? Among them you can get only four little pieces of meat for a ha'penny. But among our ancestors they used to roast whole oxen, swine, deer, and lambs. Lately our cook roasted a monster entire and served the Great King with a—hot camel." So, too, Aristophanes in *The Acharnians*^b dilates on the magnificence of the Persians. "ENVOY. And then he entertained us, serving us with whole oxen from the oven—DICAEPOLIS: And who ever saw oven-roasted oxen? What humbug!—ENVOY: Yes, I swear it by Zeus, he also set before us a fowl three times as big as Cleonymus; and its name was Gull." And Anaxandrides, ridiculing in *Protesilaus* the symposium at Iphicrates' wedding, when he

^a Kock II. 81^b 1 85.¹ μᾶλλον Meyer μόνον A, om C.² ὄπτων, vs Jacobs. διπτῶσιν A

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τὴν Κότυος τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα,
φησὶ

κἄν ταῦτα ποιῆθ' ὥσπερ φράζω,
λαμπροῦς δείπνοις δεξόμεθ' ύμᾶς,
οὐδὲν ὄμοιόις τοῖς Ἰφικράτους
τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ· καίτοι φασὶν
b βουβανκαλόσαυλα¹ γενέσθαι·
κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν μὲν ὑπεστρῶσθαι
στρώμαθ' ἀλουργῆ μέχρι τῆς ἀκάτου².
δειπνεῦν δ' ἄνδρας βουτυροφάγους,
αὐχμηροκόμας μυριοπληθεῖς.
τοὺς δὲ λέβητας χαλκοῦς εἶναι
μείζους λάκκων δωδεκακλίνων.
αὐτὸν δὲ Κότυν περιεζῶσθαι
ζωμόν τε φέρειν ἐν χοὶ χρυσῇ
καὶ γενόμενον τῶν κρατήρων
πρότερον μεθύειν τῶν πινόντων.
αὐλεῦν δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀντιγενεῖδαν,
'Αργᾶν δ' ἄδειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν
Κηφισόδοτον τὸν Ἀχαρνῆθεν·
c μέλπειν δ' ὡδαῖς
τοτὲ μὲν Σπάρτην τὴν εὐρύχορον,
τοτὲ δ' αὖ Θήβας τὰς ἑπταπύλους,
τὰς ἄρμονίας μεταβάλλοντας,
φερνάς τε λαβεῖν δύο μὲν ξανθῶν
ἴππων ἀγέλας αἰγῶν τ' ἀγέλην
χρυσοῦν τε σάκος
.... φιάλην τε λεπαστὴν
χιόνος τε πρόχουν κέρχνων τε χύτραν
βολβῶν τε σιρὸν δωδεκάπηχυν
καὶ πουλυπόδων ἔκατόμβην.³
ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως φασὶ ποιῆσαι

married the daughter of the Thracian king Cotys, says ^a: " And if you do that as I tell you, we will entertain you with a brilliant banquet, quite unlike that of Iphicrates in Thrace ; and yet they say that was a grand swagger ! Over the market-place were spread purple rugs down to where his pinnace lay. At the dinner were your butter-eating gentry, with unkempt hair and in countless numbers. The kettles were bronze and bigger than cellars containing a dozen beds. Cotys himself had an apron on, and brought the soup in a gold pitcher ; and what with tasting the wine in the mixing-bowls he got drunk before the guests did. Flute music was furnished them by Antigeneidas, singing by Argas, harp music by Cephisodotus of Acharnae ; and in their lays they celebrated, now Sparta with its broad acres, now Thebes again, the seven-gated, interchanging their themes. And the groom, 'twas said, received as dower two droves of chestnut mares, a herd of goats, a golden sack and a wastrel ^b cup, a pitcher of snow, a pot of millet, a bin of bulbs, ^c twelve cubits deep, and a hecatomb of octopuses. In this

^a Kock II. 151.

^b Cf Athen. 485 a.

^c See 63 d, note.

¹ Μεινέκη, Haupt βιβλακαλούς αὐτὰ A
² ἀκάτου Kock : ἀρκτοῦ AC

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Κότυν ἐν Θράκῃ, γάμον Ἰφικράτει.
 τούτων δ' ἔσται πολὺ σεμινότερον
 καὶ λαμπρότερον παρὰ δεσποσύνοις
 τοῖς ἡμετέροις. τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει
 δόμος ἡμέτερος, ποίων ἀγαθῶν,
 οὐ σμύρνης ἐκ¹ Συρίας ὁδμαὶ²
 λιβάνου τε πνοαί,³ τερενοχρῶτες
 μαζῶν ὄψεις, ἄρτων, ἀμύλων,
 πουλυποδείων, χολίκων, δημοῦ,
 φυσκῶν, ζωμοῦ, τεύτλων, θρίων,
 λεκίθου, σκορόδων, ἀφύης, σκόρμβρων,
 ἐνθρυμματίδων, πτισάνης, ἀθάρης,
 κυάμων, λαθύρων, ὥχρων, δολίχων,
 μέλιτος, τυροῦ, χορίων, πυῶν,³
 καρύών, χόνδρου,
 κάραβοι ὅπτοι, τευθίδες ὅπται,
 κεστρεὺς ἐφθός, σηπίαι ἐφθαί,
 μύραιν³ ἐφθή, κωβιὸι ἐφθοί,
 θυννίδες ὅπται, φυκίδες ἐφθαί,
 βάτραχοι, πέρκαι,
 συνόδοντες, ὅνοι, βατίδες, ψῆτται,
 γαλεός, κόκκυξ, θρίσσαι, νάρκαι,
 ρύνης τεμάχη, σχαδόνες, βότρυες,
 σῦκα, πλακοῦντες, μῆλα, κράνειαι,
 ρόαι, ἕρπυλλος, μήκων, ἀχράδες,
 κυῆκος, ἐλᾶαι, στέμφυλ³, ἀμητεῖς,
 πράσα, γῆτειον, κρόμμυα, φυστή,
 βολβοί, καυλοί, σύλφιον, ὅξος,
 μάραθ³, ωά, φακῆ, τέττιγες, ὅποι,⁴
 κάρδαμα, σήσαμα, κήρυκες, ἄλες,
 πίνναι, λεπάδες, μύες, ὅστρεμα,
 κτένες, ὅρκυνες καὶ πρὸς τούτοις

d

e

wise, they say, Cotys made a marriage for Iphicrates in Thrace. But in our master's house the feast shall be far more imposing and brilliant than that. For what does our house lack, what good things fail? Surely not perfumes from Syrian myrrh, the breath of frankincense, visions of tender-flaked barley cakes, wheat bread, fine meal cakes, octopuses, entrails, suet, sausages, soup, beets, stuffed fig-leaves,^a pease porridge, garlic, anchovies, mackerel, wine sops, barley gruel, Egyptian groats, beans, vetch, pulse, kidney-beans, honey, cheese, haggis, beestings, walnuts, groats, broiled crayfish, broiled squid, boiled mullet, boiled cuttle-fish, a sea-eel boiled, gobios boiled, baked roe-tunny, boiled hake, shark meat, perch, pike, cod, ray, sole, sword-fish, piper, herring, electric eel, shark steaks, honeycomb, grapes, figs, flat-cakes, apples, cornel-nuts, pomegranates, thyme, poppy, pears, sour thistle, olives, olive-cake, milk-cakes, leeks, horn-onions, onions, raised barley-bread, bulbs, cauliflowers, silphium, vinegar, fennel, eggs, lentils, grasshoppers, rennet, cress, sesame, periwinkles, salt, pinnae, limpets, mussels, oysters, scallops, tunny, and besides all this, fowls in num-

^a θρῖον, a dish often mentioned by the comic poets, consisting of eggs, milk, flour, honey, cheese, and lard in a wrapping of fig leaves. Cf. the modern Greek dish *dolmades*, made with grape leaves.

¹ ἐκ Kaibel καὶ A

² πνοαλ Schweighauser: ποῖαι AC

³ πυῶν Schweighäuser, cf. 311 d: πυρῶν "wheat" A

⁴ ὀποιλ Meineke · ὀπτοιλ AC.

ATHENAEUS

δρυιθαρίων ἄφατον πλῆθος,
 νηττῶν, φαττῶν, χῆνες, στρουθοί,
 κίχλαι, κόρυδοι, κίτται, κύκνοι,
 πελεκάν, κίγκλοι, γέρανος— β.¹ τουδὶ²
 τοῦ χάσκοντος διατειναμένη
 διὰ τοῦ πρωκτοῦ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν
 διακόψειεν τὸ μέτωπον.
 Α. οἶνοι δέ σοι, λευκός,
 γλυκύς, αὐθιγενής, ἥδυς, καπνίας.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ἐν Κενταύρῳ διαπαίζων τὰ Ἀττικὰ
 δεῖπνα φησι·

μάγειρ³, ὁ θύων ἔστι² δειπνίζων τ'¹ ἐμὲ
 'Ρόδιος, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κεκλημένος Περίνθιος.
 οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἦδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
 δείπνοις. ἀηδίᾳ γάρ ἔστιν Ἀττικὴ⁴
 132 ὥσπερ ξενική· παρέθηκε πίνακα γὰρ μέγαν
 ἔχοντα μικροὺς πέντε πινακίσκους ἄνω·
 τούτων ὁ μὲν ἔχει σκόροδον, ὁ δ' ἔχίνους δύο,
 ὁ δὲ θρυμματίδα γλυκεῖαν, ὁ δὲ κόγχας δέκα,
 ὁ δ' ἀντακαίουν μικρόν. ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἔσθιώ,
 ἔτερος ἐκεῖν⁵, ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἐκεῖνος, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ
 ηφάνισα. βούλομαι δέ γ', ω βέλτιστε σύ,
 κάκενο καὶ τοῦτ', ἀλλ' ἀδύνατα βούλομαι
 b οὕτε στόματα γὰρ οὕτε χεῖρας³ πέντ² ἔχω
 δψιν μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα ποικίλην,
 ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἔστι τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα
 κατέπασα⁴ γὰρ τὸ χεῖλος, οὐκ ἐνέπλησα δέ.
 τί οὖν ἔχεις, β. ὅστρεια πολλά. Α. πίνακά μοι
 τούτων παραθήσεις αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἔαυτοῦ μέγαν.
 ἔχεις ἔχίνους; β. ἔτερος ἔσται σοι πίναξ.
 αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπριάμην δίκτω δίβολῶν.

ber too great to tell · ducks, ringdoves, geese, snipe, thrushes, larks, magpies, swans, pelican, wagtails, crane— b. May she give a good push through the tail and the ribs of this gaping fool and crack his skull ! a. But there are wines for you— white, sweet, native, of mild bouquet or smoky.”

Lynceus, also ridiculing Athenian dinners in *The Centaur*,^a says : “ I say, cook ! He who is to offer sacrifice and entertain me is a Rhodian, while I, who am the guest, come from Perinthus. Neither of us likes an Athenian dinner. There is a revolting quality in things Attic as in things foreign. For the cook sets before you a large tray on which are five small plates. One of these holds garlic, another a pair of sea-urchins, another a sweet wine sop, another ten cockles, the last a small piece of sturgeon. While I am eating this, another is eating that ; and while he is eating that, I have made away with this. What I want, good sir, is both the one and the other, but my wish is impossible. For I have neither five mouths nor five right hands. Such a lay-out as that seems to offer variety, but is nothing at all to satisfy the belly. For I simply bespatter my lips, I don’t fill them. What, then, have you ?—THE COOK. A lot of oysters.—A You shall serve me a plate of them, all by itself, and not a small one, either. Have you sea-urchins ?—COOK. Yes, of these you shall have a second course. For I bought them myself, fourpence worth.—A This then is the one

^a Kock iii. 274.

¹ Kock rightly introduces here a second speaker who is tired of this long recital ² Herwerden : ἐστὶν δὲ Α

³ χεῖρας Emperius, cf. 137 c. χειλη A.

⁴ κατέπιασα Meineke : κατέπληγσα AC

ATHENAEUS

Α δψάριον αύτὸ τοῦτο παραθήσεις μόνου,
ἵνα ταῦτὰ πάντες, μὴ τὸ μὲν ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἔτερος . . .

c Δρομέας δ' ὁ παράσιτος ἐρωτήσαντός τινος
αὐτόν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος, πότερον
ἐν ἄστει γίνεται βελτίω δεῖπνα ἢ ἐν Χαλκίδῃ, τὸ
προοίμιον εἶπε τῶν ἐν Χαλκίδῃ δείπνων χαριέστερον
εἶναι τῆς ἐν ἄστει παρασκευῆς, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
διστρέων καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν προοίμιον εἰπὼν
δείπνου Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἀπολειπούσῃ μάγειρόν
τινα παράγων ποιεῖ τάδε λέγοντα.

πόσοι τὸ πλῆθός εἰσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι

d εἰς τὸν γάμους, βέλτιστε, καὶ πότερ; Ἀττικοὶ
ἄπαντες ἢ κάκ τούμπορίου τινές; Β. τί δαὶ
τοῦτ' ἔστι πρὸς σὲ τὸν μάγειρον; Α. τῆς τέχνης
ἡγεμονία τίς ἔστιν αὕτη σοι, πάτερ,
τὸ τῶν ἔδομένων τὰ στόματα προειδέναι.

οἶνον Ῥοδίους κέκληκας εἰσιοῦσι δὸς
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ θερμοῦ τὴν μεγάλην αὐτοῖς σπάσαι
ἀποζέσας σιλουρον ἢ λεβίαν, ἐφ' ὦ
χαριεῖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ μυρίνην προσεγχέας.

e Β. ἄστειον ὁ σιλουρισμός. Α. ἀν Βυζαντίους,
ἀψινθίω σφιν δεῦσον ὅσα γ' ἀν παρατιθῆς,
κάθαλα ποιήσας πάντα κάσκοροδισμένα
διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἵχθυων
πάντες βλιχανώδεις εἰσὶ καὶ μεστοὶ λάπης.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Τροφωνίῳ.

ξένου τὸ δεῖπνόν ἔστιν ὑποδοχή. Β. τίνος;
ποδαποῦ; διαφέρει τῷ μαγείρῳ τοῦτο γάρ.
οἶνον τὰ νησιωτικὰ ταυτὶ ξενύδριδ,
ἐν προσφάτοις ἵχθυδίοις τεθραμμένα

dish you shall serve by itself, that all may eat it alike—not I one thing, my companion another."

Hegesander of Delphi narrates ^a that the parasite Dromeas, when asked by someone whether he got better dinners in town ^b or in Chalcis, replied that the prelude to a dinner in Chalcis was more delightful than the entire lay-out of a town dinner, meaning by prelude the great quantity and variety of shell-fish. And Diphilus, in *The Woman who left her Husband*,^c introduces a cook whom he represents as saying : " How many guests, sir, are invited to the wedding ? Are they all Athenians, or are there also foreign merchants ?—B. How does that concern you, who are the cook ?—A. That is the chief part of my art, master, to know beforehand what mouths are going to eat. Suppose you have invited Rhodians : no sooner have they entered, than you must give them the largest sheat-fish or ' lebias ' ^d to enjoy, served piping hot. They will like that better than if you poured scented water over their hands.—B Ay, their sweat-eating is a nice custom.—A. Or suppose they are Byzantians, soak all you serve to them in bitters, with quantities of salt and garlic. For they have so many fish in their part of the world that they are all clammy and full of phlegm " So Menander in *Trophonius*^e : " The dinner is in honour of a stranger.—B Who ? Where does he come from ? For that makes a difference to the cook. These little island strangers, for example, are brought up

^a F.H.G. iv. 415.

^b Athens.

^c Kock ii. 545. ^d An unidentified fish. Cf. 118 b, 301 c.

^e Kock iii. 132, Allinson 438; cf. 9 c.

ATHENAEUS

¶ καὶ παντοδαποῖς, τοῖς ἀλμίοις μὲν οὐ πάνυ
ἀλίσκετ', ἀλλ' οὕτω παρέργως ἅπτεται·
τὰς δ' ὄνθυλεύσεις καὶ τὰ κεκαρυκευμένα
μᾶλλον προσεδέξετ'. Ἀρκαδικὸς τούναντίον
ἀθάλαττος ὥν τοῖς λοπαδίοις ἀλίσκεται·
Ίωνικὸς πλούταξ, ὑποστάσεις ποιῶν
κάνδαυλον, ὑποβιωητιῶντα βρώματα.
Ἐχρῶντο γάρ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἀνα-
133 στόμωσιν βρώμασιν ὕσπερ ταῖς ἀλμάσιν ἐλάαις,
ὅς κολυμβάδας καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ἐν
Γήρᾳ φησίν
ὡς πρεσβῦτα, πότερα φιλεῖς τὰς δρυπεπεῖς ἔταιρας
ἢ σὺ¹ τὰς ὑποπαρθένους ἀλμάδας ὡς ἐλάας
στιφράς;

Φιλήμων δ' ἐν Μετιόντι ἢ Ζωμίῳ.

ἰχθὺς τί σοι
ἐφαίνεθ' οὐφθός; Β. μικρὸς ἦν, ἀκήκοας;
ἀλμη τε λευκὴ καὶ παχεῖ² ὑπερβολῆ,
κούχὶ λοπάδος προσῳζεν οὐδ' ἡδυσμάτων.
b ἐβόων δ'³ ἀπαντει, ὡς ἀγαθὴν ἀλμην ποιεῖν
ἥσθιον δὲ καὶ τέττιγας καὶ κερκώπας ἀναστομώ-
σεως χάριν. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀναγύρῳ.
πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφαμαι⁴ τέττιγα φαγεῖν
καὶ κερκώπην θηρευσαμένη
καλάμῳ λεπτῷ.

ἐστὸν δ' ἡ κερκώπη ζῶον ὅμοιον τέττιγι καὶ τιτι-
γονίῳ,⁴ ὡς Σπεύσιππος παρίστησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ⁵

¹ σὺ added by Bergk

² δ' added by Meineke

³ ἔφαμαι Porson, cf. Eur. Hipp. 219: ἔραι A, ἔρᾶς C

⁴ τιτιγονίῳ cf. Eust. 229. 30 τιτιγονίῳ Phot. p. 217

Naber: τρυγονίῳ AC

⁵ δευτέρῳ Kaihel. δ' AC.

on all kinds of fish just out of the water, and so they are not at all attracted by preserved fish ; if they take it at all, they do it without zest, and welcome more gladly forcemeats and highly seasoned dishes. Your Arcadian, on the other hand, living far from the sea, is caught by oyster-bait, while the Ionian, bloated with wealth, makes his chief dish ^a of pilaf,^b and foods that provoke desire."

For the ancients employed dishes to whet the appetite, such as olives in brine, which they call *kolymbades* ("divers").^c Aristophanes, at any rate, says in *Old Age*^d : "Do you, master, love the ladies who are over-ripe or the virginal ones with bodies firm as olives steeped in brine?" And Philemon in *The Pursuer*, or *Soupy*^e : "How did the boiled fish look to you?—B. 'Twas small, do you understand? And there was brine, white and thick beyond belief, and no smell of pan or condiments. And all cried out, 'What a good pickle you make!'" They used to eat even grasshoppers and cicadas as an incentive to appetite. Thus Aristophanes in *Anagyrus*^f. "Good Heavens, how I yearn to eat a grasshopper and a cicada (*cercopē*) caught on a thin reed." Now the *cercopē* is an animal like a cicada, or *titigonion*, as Speusippus describes them in the

^a The *pièce de résistance*, what is called in Cape Cod dialect "the main hearty."

^b κάνδαλος, a Lydian dish of several varieties.

^c Cf. 56 b. ^d Kock 1. 426.

^e Kock ii 488. The second title appears to be the name of a parasite.

^f Kock 1. 404. A parody of Euripides, *Hippolytus* 219 : "Good heavens, how I yearn to course with the hounds, and hurl the Thessalian javelin, poised in hand my barbed missile beside my yellow locks of hair."

ATHENAEUS

^a Ὁμοίων μημονεύει αὐτῶν Ἐπίλυκος ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ. Ἀλεξις ἐν Θράσωνί φησι·

c σοῦ δ' ἐγώ λαλιστέραν
οὐπώποτ' εἶδον οὔτε κερκώπην, γύναι,
οὐ κίτταν, οὐκ ἀηδόν', οὐ χελιδόνα,¹
οὐ τρυγόν', οὐ τέττιγα.

Νικόστρατος δ' ἐν Ἀβρᾳ

πίναξ δ πρῶτος τῶν μεγάλων ἡγήσεται
ἔχων ἔχνον, ὡμοτάριχον, κάππαριν,
θρυμματίδα, τέμαχος, βολβὸν ἐν ὑποτρίμματι.

"Οτι δ' ἥσθιον διὰ ἀναστόμωσιν² καὶ τὰς δι'
δξους καὶ νάπυος γογγυλίδας σαφῶς παρίστησι
d Νίκαιορος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν λέγων οὕτως·

γογγυλίδος διστὴ γὰρ ἵδ' ἐκ ῥαφάνοιο γενέθλη
μακρή τε στιφρή τε φαείνεται ἐν πρασιῆσι.
καὶ τὰς μέν θ' αὐγηνον ἀποπλύνας βορέησι,
προσφιλέας χειμῶνι καὶ οἰκουροῖσιν ἀεργοῖς.
θερμοῖς δ' ἴκμανθεῖσαι ἀναζώουσ' ὑδάτεσσι.
τμῆγε δὲ γογγυλίδος ρίζας (καὶ ἀκαρφέα φλοιὸν
ἥκα καθηράμενος) λεπτουργέας, ἡελίω δὲ
αὐγῆνας ἐπὶ τυτθὸν δτὲ ³ ζεστῷ ἀποβάπτων
ὑδατι δριμείῃ πολέας ἐμβάπτισον ἄλμη,

e ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ λευκὸν γλεῦκος συστάμνισον δξει
ἴσον ἴσω, τὰς δ' ἐντὸς ἐπιστύφας ἀλὶ κρύψαις.
πολλάκι δ' ἀσταφίδας προχέαις τριπτῆρι λεήνας
σπέρματά τ' ἐνδάκνοντα συήπυος. εἰν ἐν⁴ δὲ τρύξ
δξεος ἴκμάζουσα καὶ ὡμοτέρην ἐπὶ κόρσην
ώριον ἀλμαίην ἄμυσαι κεχρηόσι δαίτης.

¹ οὐ χελιδόνα added by Meineke and Cobet.

² C: τὴν ἀναστόμωσιν A.

³ Schweighauser: δτ' ἐν AC.

second book of his *Similars*. Epilycus mentions them in *Coraliscus*.^a Alexis in *Thrason*^b says : "Never have I seen such a chatterbox as you, woman, be it cicada or magpie, nightingale or swallow, turtle-dove or grasshopper." And Nicostratus in *The Pet*^c : "The first platter, leading the main courses, will contain a sea-urchin, some raw smoked fish, capers, a wine-sop, a slice of meat, and a bulb in sour sauce."

But they also ate as an appetizer turnips done in vinegar and mustard, as Nicander plainly shows in the second book of the *Georgics*^d; for he says : "Of turnip and cabbage, in truth, two families appear in our gardens, long and solid. The latter you wash and dry in the north wind, and they are welcome in winter even to the idle stay-at-homes ; for soaked in warm water they come to life again. But the other, the turnip roots, you cut in thin slices, gently cleaning away the undried outer skin, and after drying them in the sun a little, either dip a quantity of them in boiling water and soak them in strong brine ; or again, put equal parts of white must and vinegar in a jar together, then plunge the slices in it, having dried them off with salt. Often, too, you may pound raisins and biting mustard-seeds with a pestle and add it to them. When cream of tartar forms, and the top grows more and more bitter, then 'tis time to draw off the pickle for those

^a Kock i. 804.

^b Kock ii. 326.

^c Kock ii. 219. This fragment refers to the use of *hors-d'œuvre* in general.

^d Frag. 70 Schneider; Athen. 369 b.

⁴ Possibly εἰ γ' ἔνι (Schweighauser), and ὁμοτέρη ἔτι κόρση (O. Schneider)

ATHENAEUS

Ι Δίφιλος δ' ἡ Σώσιππος ἐν Ἀπολειπούσῃ·

ἔστιν ἔνδον ὅξος ὁξύ σοι;
 β. ὑπολαμβάνω, παιδάριον· ὅπὸν εἰλήφαμεν.
 ἄριστα τούτοις πάντα πιέσω καὶ πυκνά,
 ἡ φυλλὰς ἡ δριμεῖα περιοισθήσεται
 τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γάρ ταῦτα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων
 ἀναστομοῖ τάχιστα τάξθητήρια,
 τό τε νωκαρῶδες καὶ κατημβλυωμένον
 ἐσκέδασε κάποιησεν ἡδέως φαγεῖν.

134 ”Αλεξίς δ’ ἐν Ταραντίνοις ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις φησὶ¹
 τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς καὶ ὄρχεισθαι ὑποπιόντας·

τοῦτο γάρ νῦν ἔστι σοι
 ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ταῖς καλαῖς ἐπιχώριον·
 ἀπαντεῖς ὄρχοῦντ² εὐθὺς ἀν οἴνου μόνον
 δσμὴν ἴδωσι· συμφορὰν σύ γ' εἰσορᾶν³
 φαίης ἀν εἰς συμπόσιον εἰσελθὼν ἄφνω.
 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγενείοις ἵσως ἔπεστί τις
 χάρις· ἀλλ' ἐπάν δὴ τὸν γόητα Θεόδοτον
 ἢ τὸν παραμασύντην ἴδω τὸν ἀνόσιον
 b βαυκιζόμενον τὰ λευκά τ' ἀναβάλλονθ⁴ ἄμα,
 ἥδιστ⁵ ἀν ἀναπήξαιμ⁶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔντονος λαβών.

μήποτε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Καρσὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀτ-
 τικὸν ἔθιστος τῆς ὄρχήσεως κωμῳδεῖ τινα τῶν σοφῶν
 ὡς παρὰ δεῖπνον ὄρχούμενον λέγων οὕτως·

οὐχ ὄρᾶς ὄρχούμενον
 ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν βάκηλον; οὐδὲ αἰσχύνεται
 δ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἔξηγούμενος,
 δ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρῆκώς τέχνην,
 c δ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὔριπίδη.

who seek their dinner." Diphilus (or Sosippus) says in *The Woman who left her Husband*^a :—A. "Have you got sharp vinegar in the house?—B. I fancy so, slave, and we have bought rennet. All this will I squeeze thick together in a nice dish for them, and the salad with sour dressing shall be served for all. For such condiments must speedily rouse the sensory organs of men when they are old, dispel the sloth and bluntness of their desire, and make them glad to eat."

Alexis in *The Tarentines*^b says that the Athenians have but to take a sip of wine at the symposia to make them dance: "Yes, you must know that that is the native custom in fair Athens. They all begin to dance the moment they glimpse^c the smell of wine. You'd say you were looking upon some strange mishap should you suddenly join the company. Now for the young, perhaps, there is some grace in it; but when I see that charlatan Theodotus, or the foul parasite, frisking and rolling the whites of his eyes the while, I'd gladly take and nail him to the gallows." Possibly Antiphanes also, in *The Carians*,^d may be referring to the Athenian custom of dancing when he ridicules a sophist for dancing during dinner in these words: "Don't you see that reprobate dancing with his arms?"^e No shame feels he, the expounder of Heracleitus, the sole discoverer of the art of Theodectas, and the author of a compendium of Euripides." To this quotation one might

^a Kock ii. 546.

^b Kock ii. 379.

^c A comic locution.

^d Kock ii. 55.

^e "If you have pretty arms, *dance*," says Ovid.

¹ σύ γ' εἰσορᾶν Casaubon: λέγεις δρ' ἀν AC
² ἀναπήξαιμι ἀν αὐτὸν AC. ἀν αὐτὸν deleted by Dobree

ATHENAEUS

*τούτοις οὐδ' ἀναρμόστως ἀν τις ἐπενέγκαι τὰ
Ἐρίφῳ τῷ κωμικῷ ἐν Αἰόλῳ εἰρημένα τάδε.*

*λόγος γάρ ἐστ' ἀρχαῖος οὐ κακῶς ἔχων.
οἶνον λέγουσι τοὺς γέροντας, ὥ πάτερ,
πειθεῖν χορεύειν οὐ θέλοντας.*

*"Αλεξίς δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἰσοστάσιόν φησιν
ἀπὸ συμβολῶν ἔπινον δρχεῖσθαι μόνον
βλέποντες, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν, ὅψων ὀνόματα*

- d *καὶ σιτίων ἔχοντες, "Οψων, Κάραβος
καὶ Κωβιός, Σεμιδαλις.*

*"Αττικὸν δὲ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀχαρίτως¹ διαγράφει
Μάτρων δὲ παρῳδός, ὅπερ διὰ τὸ σπάνιον οὐκ ἀν
δικήσαιμι ύμᾶν, ἄνδρες φίλοι," δὲ Πλούταρχος ἔφη,
"ἀπομνημονεῦσαι.*

*δεῖπνα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροφα καὶ μάλα
πολλά,*

- e *ἄ Ξενοκλῆς ρήτωρ ἐν Ἀθήναις δείπνισεν ἡμᾶς.
ἡλθον γὰρ κάκεῦσε, πολὺς δέ μοι ἔσπετο λιμός.
οὗ δὴ καλλίστους ἄρτους ἵδον ἡδὲ μεγύστους,
λευκοτέρους χιόνος, ἔσθειν δὲ ἀμύλοισιν
όμοίους . . .*

*τάων καὶ Βορέης ἡράσσατο πεσσομενάων
αὐτὸς δὲ Ξενοκλῆς ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν,
στῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἴών. σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ ἦν
παράσιτος*

- f *Χαιρεφόων, πεινῶντι λάρω ὅρνιθι ἔοικώς,
νήστης, ἀλλοτρίων εὖ εἰδὼς δειπνοσυνάων.
τῷ δὲ μάγειροι μὲν φόρεον πλῆσάν τε τραπέζας,
οἷς ἐπιτετράφαται μέγας οὐρανὸς ὀπτανιάων
ἡμὲν ἐπισπεῦσαι δείπνου χρόνον ἡδ' ἀναμεῦναι²*

add not inappropriately these words of Eriphus the comic poet in *Aeolus*^a: “For there is an ancient proverb not untrue: they say that wine, my father, persuades old men to dance against their will.” And Alexis in the play entitled *Fair Measure*^b says. “At a subscription-dinner they were drinking with an eye only for the dancing and nothing else; and they took the names of dainties and foods—Relish, Prawn, Gudgeon, and Wheat-flour”

“An Attic dinner,” said Plutarch, “is described not unwittily by Matron, the writer of parodies, and because of its rarity I shall not hesitate, my friends, to quote it for you:^c ‘Sing, Muse,^d of the dinners, many and plenteous, which Xenocles the orator offered us in Athens. For even thither I went, and great hunger came with me^e. There I beheld fair, large loaves whiter than snow, like finest meal cakes to the taste^f. For them also did Boreas yearn when they were baking^g. And Xenocles himself went in review through the ranks of the heroes,^h but stood still when he came to the threshold.ⁱ And near him was the parasite Chaerephon, like unto a hungry sea-gull^j; empty he was, but well acquainted with dinners furnished by others^k. Thereupon the cooks filled the tables and brought them in—the cooks to whose rule the mighty Heaven of Kitchens is committed,^l either to hasten the hour of dinner or retard

^a Kock II. 428.

^b Kock II. 328; cf. 127 d.

^c 60 Brandt

^d Cf. Od. I. 1.

^e Od. VI. 164.

^f Il. x. 436-7

^g Cf. Athen. 64 c

^h Il. xx. 223.

ⁱ Il. III. 196.

^j Od. xx. 128.

^k Od. v. 51.

^l Od. v. 250.

^l Iliad v. 750.

¹ ἀχαρίτως Meineke ἀχαρίτως AC
² ἀναθεῖναι Brandt, but cf. Xen. Cyrop. I. 6. 10

ATHENAEUS

- ἔνθ' ἄλλοι πάντες λαχάνοις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἵαλλον,
 ἀλλ' ἔγὼ οὐ πιθόμην, ἀλλ' ἡσθιον εἴδατα πάντα,
 135 βολβούς ἀσπάραγόν τε καὶ στρεα μυελόεντα,
 ὡμοτάριχον ἔων χαίρειν, Φουνίκιον δψον.
 αὐτὰρ ἔχόνοις ῥῆψα καρηκομόωντας ἀκάνθαις·
 οἱ δὲ κυλινδόμενοι καναχὴν ἔχον ἐν ποσὶ παίδων
 ἐν καθαρῷ, δθι κύματ' ἐπ' ἡιόνος κλύζεσκε·
 πολλὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους εἶλκον
 ἀκάνθας.
- ἡ δὲ Φαληρικὴ ἥλθ' ἀφύη, Τρίτωνος ἔταιρη,
 ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη ρύπαρὰ κρήδεμνα . . .
 b τοὺς δ' ὁ Κύκλωψ ἐφίλει καὶ ἐν οὔρεσιν ἔξ-
 επεφύκει . . .
 πίνας ἥλθε φέρων κατὰ τρύβλια² ἥχήεντα,
 ἃς κατὰ φυκότριχος πέτρης λευκὸν τρέφει
 ύδωρ . . .
 φῆττά τε χονδροφυῆς καὶ τρύγλη μιλτοπάρηος.
 τῇ δ' ἔγὼ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπέχον κρατερώνυχα χείρα
 οὐδ' ἔφθην τρώσας μιν, ἀσε δὲ³ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλ-
 λων.
- ώς δὲ⁴ ὅδον Στρατοκλῆ, κρατερὸν μήστωρα φόβοιο,
 c τρύγλης ἐπιποδάμοιο κάρη μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντα,
 ἃψ δ' ἐλόμην χάρμη, λαιμὸν δ' ἀπληστον ἄμυξα.
 ἥλθε δὲ Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,
 σηπίη εὐπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα,
 ἡ μόνη ἰχθὺς οὖσα τὸ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν οἶδε.
 καὶ Τιτυὸν ἔιδον, λίμνης ἐρικυδέα γόγγυρον
- ¹ Schweighauser marks a lacuna here and below
² κατὰ τρύβλια Wachsmuth: κατὰ δώματα Meineke· καὶ
 ἀμυλα AC
- ³ τρώσας μιν, ἀσε δὲ Scaliger. τρώσας ἵνα εἴλασε AC.
- ⁴ δὲ added by Musurus

^a Od. ix. 288.

^b Od. ix. 293.

^c Cf. above, 117 a.

it. Thereupon, all the others laid hands on the green herbs,^a but I did not follow them; rather, I ate of all solid viands—bulbs and asparagus and meaty oysters,^b avoiding raw smoked fish, that dish for Phoenicians.^c And forth I dashed down^d sea-urchins with head-dress of streaming spines, which resounded as they rolled among the slaves' feet^e in an open space, where the waves surged upon the beach,^f and many were the spines I pulled by the roots from their heads.^g Then came the Phaleric anchovy, darling of Triton, holding her soiled veil before her face^h . . . and they were loved of the Cyclops and grew on the mountains. Then came one bringing pinnas, in ringing bowls,ⁱ which the white foaming waters nurture on a rock streaming with sea-weed. A plaice with thick cartilage, and a red-cheeked^j mullet came too, and upon it I was among the first to lay a hand with grasping nail.^k But I was not quick enough to eat it, for Phoebus Apollo did me a hurt. But when I saw Stratocles, stern master of the rout,^l holding the head of the horse-taming mullet in his hands,^m then did I quickly seize it with joy, and tore open its insatiable throat. And there came the daughter of Nereus, silver-footed Thetis, the fair-tressed squid, dread goddess with voice of mortal,ⁿ who of all fish alone knows the difference between black and white.^o I saw Tityus, too, glorious conger-eel of the marshy lake,^p

^a i.e. on the ground, in order to break them

^b Il. xvi 794. ^c Il. xxii 61. ^d Il x 15.

^e Od. i. 334. ^f Od. iv. 72. See critical note.

^g Od. ix. 125. ^h Od. xvii 410? ⁱ Il. xii. 39.

^j Il. xxiv 724. ^l Od. x 136.

^k Referring to the inky fluid (*sepia*) which the cuttle-fish emits to blind pursuers ^m Od. xi 576

ATHENAEUS

κείμενον ἐν λοπάδεσσο· δ' δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῦτο
τραπέζας.

τῷ δὲ μετ' ᾧντα βαῦνε θεὰ λευκώλενος ἵχθὺς

d ἔγχελυς, ἥ Διὸς εὔχετ' ἐν ἀγκοίνησι μιγῆναι,
ἐκ Κωπῶν,¹ ὅθεν ἔγχέλεων γένος ἀγροτεράων,
παμμεγέθης, ἦν οὐκεὶ κε δύ' ἀνέρες ἀθλητῆρες,
οἵοι ἄρ' Ἀστυάναξ τε καὶ Ἀντήνωρ ἐγένοντο,
ρήιδίως ἐπ' ἄμαξαν ἀπ' οὐδεος ὁχλίσσειαν.
τρισπίθαμοι γὰρ ταὶ γε καὶ ἐννεαπήγεες ἦσαν
εὑρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυνοι.
πολλὰ δ' ἀναντα κάταντα κατὰ στέγος ἥλθ' δ
μάγειρος,

σείων ὁφοφόρους πίνακας κατὰ δεξιὸν ὕμον.

e τῷ δ' ἄμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι χύτραι ἐποντο,
αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας λοπάδες τόσαι ἐστιχόωντο.
Ἴρις δ' ἄγγελος ἥλθε ποδήνεμος, ὡκέα τευθίς,
πέρκη τ' ἀνθεσίχρως καὶ δημοτικὸς μελάνουρος,
ὅς καὶ θητὸς ἐὼν ἐπετ' ἵχθύσιν ἀθανάτοισιν
οἴη δ' αὖ θύννου κεφαλὴ θαλαμηιάδαο

νόσφιν ἀφειστήκει, κεχολωμένη οὖνεκα τευχέων
αἰρομένων τὸ δὲ πῆμα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι.

f ρίνη θ³, ἦν φιλέοντι² περισσῶς τέκτονες ἄνδρες,
τρηχεῖ⁴ ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
ἥσ σαρκὸς δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ίδεσθαι.
δπταλέος δ' εἰσῆλθε πελώριος ἵππότα κεστρεὺς
οὐκ οἶσ· ἄμα τῷ γε δυώδεκα σαργοὶ ἐποντο.

¹ ἐκ Κωπῶν Καιβελ· ἐν κοιτῶν' Α

² ρίνη θ³ ἦν φιλέοντι Μεινεκε: ρίνην φιλέοντι Α (cf 136 b)

^a Od. iii. 30; Pl. i. 55.

^b Od. xi. 267.

^c Pl. ii. 852.

^d Pl. xii. 447.

^e Pl. xii. 448.

^f Od. xi. 311.

^g Od. vi. 312.

^h Pl. xxiii. 116.

ⁱ Pl. v. 46.

^j Pl. ii. 534.

lying in the casseroles ; and its length covered nine tables. In its tracks followed the white-armed goddess-fish,^a the eel, who boasted that she had lain in Zeus's embrace,^b from the Copaic Lake whence comes the race of wild eels.^c Of mighty size was she, and two men who contend for prizes,^d such as Astyanax and Antenor were, could not have lifted her easily from the ground into a cart^e. For they measured nine cubits and three spans^f in width, and they were nine fathoms long^g. Oft did the cook go back and forth throughout the room,^h balancing on right shoulder the platters covered with dainties,ⁱ and forty black kettles followed him close,^j while from Euboea there marched in close array as many casseroles.^k Came, too, the windswift messenger Iris, the fleet squid,^l and the flower-dotted perch and plebeian black-tail, which, mortal though he was, was companion of fishes immortal.^m But alone and apart, wroth at the loss of his armour, stood the head of the tunny, son of Lurkholeⁿ, and the gods had made it a bane to men^o. The file-fish, which carpenters^p love extravagantly, was there—the rough but kindly nourisher of the young ; I shall never behold anything sweeter than its flesh.^q There entered, too, that doughty knight,^r baked mullet, yet not alone ; for a dozen sargs followed in close com-

^k *Il.* ii. 516. Cf. below, 169 e f.

^l *Il.* ii. 786.

^m *Il.* xvi. 154

ⁿ *Od.* xi. 543 and 557. The angry tunny-head in the parody is a fusion of Ajax defrauded of his armour (which in the case of the fish is his scale-covered body) and the sulking Achilles, whose surname "son of Peleus" sounded in Greek somewhat like "son of Lurkhole".

^o *Od.* xi. 555.

^p *Il.* vi. 315.

^q *Od.* ix. 27.

^r *Il.* ii. 336.

ATHENAEUS

κυανόχρως δ' ἀμίας ἐπὶ τοῖς μέγας, ὃς τε
θαλάσσης

πάσης βένθεα οἶδε, Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδμώς,
136 καριδές θ', αἱ Ζηνὸς Ὄλυμπίου εἰσὼν ἀοιδή,¹
αἱ δὴ γήραι κυφαὶ² ἔσταν, χρησταὶ δὲ πάσασθαι.
χρύσοφρος, δις κάλλιστος ἐν ἄλλοις ἵσταται
ἰχθύς,

κάραβος, ἀστακὸς αὖτε λιλαίετο θωρήσσεσθαι
ἐν μακάρων δείπνοις. τοῖς δαιτυμόνες χέρ³
ἔφέντες

ἐν στόμασίν τ³ ἔθεσαν καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἄλλυδις
ἄλλον.

b τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἔλοψ κρείων δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,
οὐ πλήρης περ ἐών κρατερῶς παλάμη ἐπορέχθην
γεύσασθ' ἴμείρων· τὸ δέ γ' ἀμβροσίη μοι ἔδοξεν,
οἵην⁴ δαίνυνται μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες.

μύραιναν δ' ἐπέθηκε φέρων, προκάλυμμα⁵ τρα-
πέζης,

ζώνην θ',⁶ ἣν φορέεσκεν ἀγαλλομένη περὶ δειρήν,
εἰς λέχος ἥνικ' ἔβαινε Δρακοντιάδῃ μεγαθύμῳ.

c σάνδαλα δ' αὖ παρέθηκεν ἀειγενῆ ἀθανατάων,
βούγλωσσόν θ',⁶ δις ἔναιεν ἐν ἄλμη μορμυρούσῃ,
κίχλας δ' ἔξείης ἡβήτορας ὑψιπετήεις
καὶ πέτρας κάτα βοσκομένας, ὑάδας θ' ὑδατινούς.
ἐν δ' ἀναμίξ σαργοί τε καὶ ἵππουροι γλάνιές τε,
μόρμυρος ἄντα δ' ἐῆν, γαλέη,⁷ σπάρος· οὓς δ'
μάγειρος

¹ ἀοιδή Ludwich: ἀοιδοί AC.

² αἱ δὴ γήραι κυφαὶ Paessens, cf Od 11 16. αἰδηγαρικυφαὶ A.

³ τ' added by Meineke ⁴ οἵην Naucl: εἴναι ἣν AC.

⁵ προκάλυμμα Kaibel. τὸ κάλυμμα AC

⁶ βούγλωσσόν θ' Meineke. βουγλώσσων δις A

⁷ ἐῆν, γαλέη Scaliger: ἣν μεγάλη AC

pany.^a After them came a mighty blue-skinned mackerel, which knows the depths of every sea, Poseidon's henchman.^b And prawns there were, theme of Olympian Zeus's song, which were crooked with age, but good to eat^c The gilt-head was there, the fairest fish amid all others,^d the crayfish, too, and the lobster eager to arm for the fray^e at the feasts of the Blessed. Upon them the feasters laid hands and put them to their mouths, pulling them this way and that.^f Their leader was the lordly *elops*, glorious in battle,^g for which, sated though I was, I stretched forth a lusty hand, eager^h to taste of it; and it seemed to me as ambrosia, on which feast the blessed gods that live for ever.ⁱ Then the cook brought and added to our store a lamprey which covered the table,^j and the girdle which she wore with pride about her neck,^k what time she wed the high-souled son of Dracon. Sandals,^l again he placed beside us, everliving offspring of immortal goddesses, and a sole, which dwelt in the roaring brine^m; then lusty carp in order, high-flying,ⁿ which feed among rocks, and watery piglings.^o And mingled with all were sargs and horse-tails and sheats, and opposite a roarer, a shark, and a gilt-head. These the cook

^a *Il.* iii. 143.^b *Od.* iv. 385-6.^c *Od.* ii. 16. Cf. *Athen.* 64 c.^d *Il.* xxii. 318.^e *Od.* xx. 27. ^f *Od.* xi. 385^g *Il.* ii. 645; the *ελοψ* or *ελλοψ* has not been identified.^h *Od.* x. 555. ⁱ *Od.* v. 7. ^j *Od.* xvii. 333.^k *Il.* iv. 137. ^l A fish like the flounder.^m *Il.* vi. 396.ⁿ The epithet, of course, is appropriate to *κιχλατ* only in its normal sense, "thrushes".^o The Hyades portend rain.

ATHENAEUS

- σίζοντας παρέθηκε φέρων, κνίσωσε δὲ δῶμα
τῶν ἔλεγεν δαινυσθαι· ἐμοὶ δέ γε θηλυτεράων
εἶναι βρώματ' ἔδοξεν· ἔπειθ' ὥρμαινον¹ ἐπ' ἄλλα
d κεῦτο δέ τις βατάνη, ἃς οὐδεὶς ἥπτετο δειπνῶν,
ἐν καθαρῷ ὅθι περ λοπάδων διεφαίνετο χῶρος. . .²
ἔξῆς κόσσυφος ἥλθ³ ἐμοί, ὃς γεύσασθαι ἔτοιμος
ἥμην.⁴ οὐδ' ἄρ' ἄθικτος ἦν, πόθεον δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
κωλῆν δ' ὡς ἔιδον, ὡς ἔτρεμον⁵. ἐν δὲ σίναπι
κεῖτ⁶ ἀγχοῦ γλυκερὸν χρυσὸς ὥσ, πλείον⁷ ἐρῦκον.⁵
γευσάμενος δ' ἔκλαιον, ὅτ⁸ αὔριον οὐκ ἔτι ταῦτα
δύκομαι, ἄλλα με τυρῷ δεῖ καὶ μάζη ὁτρηρῇ . . .
- e Νηδὺς⁹ δ' οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, βιάζετο γάρ ρ¹⁰ ἀχέεσσοι¹¹.
δάμνα μιν ζωμός τε μέλας ἀκροκώλιά θ¹² ἐφθά
παις δέ τις ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν τρισκαΐδεκα νήσσας,
λίμνης ἐξ ἴερῆς, μάλα πίονας ἂς δ' μάγειρος
θῆκε φέρων, ἵν¹³ Ἀθηναίων κατέκεντο φά-
λαγγες . . .
- Xαιρεφόων δ' ἐνόησεν ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω
ὅρνιθας γνῶναι καὶ ἐναίσιμα σιτίζεσθαι.
- f ἥσθιε δ' ὥστε λέων, παλάμη δ' ἔχε τὸ σκέλος
ἀμνοῦ,⁸
ὅφρα οἱ οἴκαδ¹⁴ ἰόντι πάλιν ποτιδόρπιον εἴη.
χόνδρος δ' ἥδυπρόσωπος, διν¹⁵ Ἡφαιστος κάμεν
ἔψων,
- 'Αττικῷ ἐν κεράμῳ πέττων τρισκαΐδεκα μῆνας.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,
¹ ἔπειθ' ὥρμαινον Meineke: ἐπεὶ δ' (ἐπὶ δ' C) ὥρμαινον A.
² Meineke marks a lacuna
³ ἥλθ³ . . . ἥμην Ludwich. ἥλθε μόνος γ ἔτοιμος οὐ μὴν AC
⁴ δ' ὡς ἔιδον, ὡς ἔτρεμον Scaliger. δ' εἰσιδον πῶς ἔτρεμεν AC
⁵ γλυκερὸν ερῦκον Gulick: γλυκὺ πλείονα χρυσὸς ὡν
ἀπερύκων ⁶ νηδὺς Paessens: νηλης AC.
⁷ ρ¹⁰ ἀχέεσσοι Lumb: φαδέεσσοι AC
⁸ ἀμνοῦ Wachsmuth: αὐτοῦ AC.

brought in and placed^a steaming beside us, and filled all the house with their savour. On them he urged us to feast; but to me, at least, they seemed to be food for womenfolk, and soon I was borne on to other kinds. Now there lay a dish, which none at the dinner had touched, where in an open space^b rose to view the place of the saucepans. . . Next came a blackbird for me, who sat ready to eat it, nor, to be sure, was it untouched, for others yearned for it too. And a ham I saw, and no sooner saw than I trembled^c; and near it lay the sweetened mustard, yellow as gold, but forbidding one to take too much. And when I had tasted I wept^d that on the morrow I should not see it again, but must content myself with cheese and the faithful barley-cake.

“ But my belly could not hold out, for it was overcome with pains;^e the black broth overpowered it, and the boiled pigs’ feet as well. But a slave brought from Salamis thirteen fat ducks^f from the sacred lake, which the cook^g took and placed where the Athenian phalanxes were posted.^h And Chaerophon, directing his mind forward and back,ⁱ recognized the birds, and perceived that they were auspicious for eating.^j So he ate like a lion,^k but in his fist he kept a lamb’s leg, that he might have wherewith to sup at evening when he went home.^l And there was a gruel of pleasant aspect which Hephaestus had laboured to boil,^m cooking it in an Attic bowl for thirteen months.ⁿ Then when they had banished desire for the delicious supper,^o and

^a *Od.* xvii. 333.^b *Il.* x. 199.^c *Il.* xiv. 294, *cf.* *Theocr.* ii. 82.^d *Od.* xii. 309.^e *Il.* xvi. 102.^f *Il.* ii. 557.^g *Il.* v. 710.^h *Il.* ii. 558.ⁱ *Il.* i. 343.^j *Od.* ii. 159.^k *Od.* ix. 292; i. 104.^l *Od.* ix. 234.^m *Il.* ii. 101.ⁿ *Il.* v. 387.^o *Od.* xxiv. 489.

ATHENAEUS

- χεῖρας νιψαμένοισιν ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῦ ροάων
 ὡραῖος παῖς ἥλθε φέρων μύρον ἵρινον ἥδυ,
 137 ἄλλος δ' αὖ στεφάνους ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν,
 οἵ ρόδον ἀμφεπλέκοντο διάνδιχα κοσμηθέντες.
 κρητὴρ δὲ Βρομίου ἐκεράννυτο, πίνετο δ' οἶνος
 Λέσβιος, οὗ δὴ πλεῖστον ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἄνδρα
 πεπώκει.
- δεύτεραι αὐτεῖ τράπεζαι ἐφωπλίζοντο γέμουσαι.
 b ἐν δ' αὐταῖσιν ἐπῆν ἅπιοι καὶ πίονα μῆλα,
 ροιαί τε σταφυλαί τε, θεοῦ Βρομίοιο τιθῆναι,
 πρόσφατος ἦν θ' ἀμάμαξυν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.
 τῶν δ' ἐγὼ οὐδενὸς ἥσθον ἀπλῶς, μεστὸς δ'
 ἀνεκείμην.
- ώς δὲ ἵδον ξανθόν, γλυκερόν, μέγαν, ἔγκυκλον,
 ἀδρὸν¹
- c Δήμητρος παῖδ' ὀπτὸν ἐπεισελθόντα πλακοῦντα,
 πῶς ἂν ἐπειτα πλακοῦντος ἐγὼ θείου ἀπε-
 χοίμην; . . .
 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν χεῖρες, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἰεν,
 γαστὴρ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἥτορ ἐνεέη.
 πόρναι δ' εἰσῆλθον, κοῦραι δύο θαυματοποιοί,
 ἃς Στρατοκλῆς ἤλαυνε ποδώκεας ὅρνιθας ὡς.
- "Αλεξίς δ' ἐν Συντρέχουσιν ἐπισκώπτων τὰ
 Ἀττικὰ δεῖπνά φησιν.
- d ἔγωγε δύο λαβεῖν μαγείρους βούλομαι
 οὓς ἂν σοφωτάτους δύνωμ' ἐν τῇ πόλει.
 μέλλοντα δειπνίζειν γάρ ἄνδρα Θετταλὸν
 οὐκ Ἀττικηρῶς οὐδ' ἀπηκριβωμένως
 λιμῷ με παρατεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ καθ' ἔν²
 ἔκαστον αὐτῷ³ παρατιθέντα . . . μεγαλείως δέ . . .

had laved their hands in the streams of Ocean,^a a lovely boy entered and brought to them sweet unguent of orris-root; another, again, gave chaplets to all from left to right, which were intertwined with the rose and variously adorned^b And a bowl of the Bromian god was mixed, and Lesbian wine was drunk, man vying with man to drink the most of it Anon the "second tables" were loaded to the full, and upon them were pears and luscious apples,^c pomegranates and grapes, nurses of the Bromian god, and that freshly gathered grape which they call "vine-bower."^d But of them I ate nothing at all, for I lay back, too full. Yet, when I saw the brown, sweet, mighty, round, well-grown child of Demeter enter, a baked flat-cake, how could I abstain from that divine flat-cake?^e . . . But nay; not if I had ten hands and ten mouths,^f belly that could not burst, and a heart of bronze within me. Then there entered two trick girls, *filles de joie*, driven like swift birds by Stratocles^g,

Alexis, by way of ridiculing Attic dinners, says, in *Running-Mates*^h: "I want to hire two cooks, the cleverest that I can find in all the town For I intend to feast a man from Thessaly, not in any Attic fashion; and I must not stretch the gentleman on the rack of famine by stingly setting before him each little dish separately, but (I will serve it

^a *Il.* xix. 1.

^b *Od.* ix. 157.

^c *Od.* ix. 217; $\mu\hat{\eta}\lambda\alpha$, when modified by $\pi\!lova$, properly means "fat sheep," cf. *Athen.* 27 f.

^d *Od.* v. 273.

^e *Il.* x. 243.

^f *Il.* ii. 490.

^g *Il.* ii. 764.

^h Kock ii. 375. the text and meaning are uncertain.

¹ ἀδρὸν Jacobs, ἄνδρες AC

² λιμῷ με παρατείναι παρελθεῖν δεῖ AC.

. καθ' ἐν Herwerden: λιμῷ

³ Herwerden. αὐτοῦ AC

ATHENAEUS

εὐτράπεζοι δ' εἰσὶν ὅντως οἱ Θετταλοί, καθὰ καὶ
"Εριφός φησιν ἐν Πελταστῇ οὕτως·

τάδ' οὐ Κόρινθος οὐδὲ Λαῖς, ὡς Σύρε,
οὐδ' εὐτράπεζῶν Θετταλῶν ξένων τροφαί,
ῶν οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἥδε χεὶρ ἔγινετο.

εὸς δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην ἀναφερομένους Πτωχοὺς
ποιήσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φησίν, ὅταν τοῖς Διοσ-
κούροις ἐν πρυτανείᾳ ἄριστον προτιθῶνται, ἐπὶ τῶν
τραπεζῶν τιθέναι "τυρὸν καὶ φυστὴν δρυπεπεῖς τ'
ἔλασ καὶ πράσα," ὑπόμυησιν ποιουμένους τῆς ἀρ-
χαίας ἀγωγῆς. Σόλων δὲ τοῖς ἐν πρυτανείᾳ σιτου-
μένοις μᾶζαν παρέχειν κελεύει, ἄρτον δὲ ταῖς
ἐορταῖς προσπαρατιθέναι, μιμούμενος τὸν "Ομηρον.
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἄριστεῖς συνάγων πρὸς τὸν
f Ἀγαμέμνονα "φύρετο δ' ἄλφιτα" φησίν. Χρύσ-
ιππός τ' ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς
ἥδονῆς φησιν· "ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἵστοροῦσιν οὐ πάνυ
ἀρχαίων δυεῦν γινομένων δείπνων ἐν Λυκείῳ τε καὶ
Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν εἰσεν-
έγκαντος ὁψοποιοῦ λοπάδα πρὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ χρείαν
τὸν κέραμον κατάξαι πάντα¹ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς ὡς²
οὐκ ἀστείας παρεισδύσεως γινομένης, δέοντος
ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων τῶν³ μακρόθεν· τὸν δ' ἐν τῷ
Λυκείῳ κρέας ταριχηρὸν εἰς τάριχος διασκευάσαντα
μαστιγωθῆναι ὡς παρασοφιζόμενον πονηρῶς."

138 Πλάτων δ' ἐν β' Πολιτείᾳ οὕτως ἔστι ἡ τοὺς αὐτοῦ
νεοπολίτας, γράφων· "ἄνευ ὄψου, ἔφη, ὡς ἕοικας,

¹ Meineke: πάντας AC.

² After ὡς AC have μακρόθεν, deleted by Dindorf.

³ τῶν added by Schweighauser.

all together) in the grand style." Thessalians, on the other hand, do set really luxurious tables, as Eriphus declares in *The Peltast*^a in these words : " Such dainties, O Syrian, not Corinth nor Laïs ever served, nor are they even the fare set on bounteous tables of Thessalian hosts, of which this hand of mine has often had its share." Whoever wrote *Beggars*, generally attributed to Chionides,^b says that when the Athenians set before the Dioscuri a collation^c in the town-hall, they place upon the tables " cheese and a barley-puff, ripe olives, and leeks," in memory of their ancient discipline. Solon prescribes that a barley-cake be served to all who dine at the town-hall, but that a wheat loaf may be added on feast days, thus following Homer. For the latter, when he gathers the nobles before Agamemnon, says that " barley-meal was mixed."^d And so Chrysippus, in the fourth book of the treatise *On Pleasure and the Good* says . " It is recorded that at Athens two banquets of not very ancient date were celebrated in the Lyceum and in the Academy. Once, at the Academy feast, a fancy cook brought in a casserole intended for another use, whereupon the sacrificants broke the dish in pieces because an act of smuggling had been committed not tolerated by the city, it being obligatory to abstain from such far-fetched importations. At the Lyceum, again, the cook who had brought in some salt meat which he had made over in imitation of salt-fish was flogged for playing the impostor with his over-refinement" And Plato, in the second book of the *Republic*,^e thus portrays his new citizens at dinner when he writes : " ' It

^a Light-armed infantry-man. Kock ii. 430.

^b Kock i. 5. ^c See 82 e, note ^c, 237 e.

^d Not in the *Iliad*. ^e 372 c.

ATHENAEUS

ποιεῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔστιαμένους. ἀληθῆ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,
 λέγεις· ἐπελαθόμην ὅτι καὶ ὁφον ἔξουσιν, ἀλλα τε
 δηλονότι καὶ ἐλαίας καὶ τυρόν, καὶ βολβοὺς καὶ
 λάχανά γε, οἷα δὴ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐψήματα,¹ ἐψήσονται.
 καὶ τραγήματά που παραθήσομεν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε
 σύκων καὶ ἐρεβίνθων καὶ κυάμων, καὶ μύρτα καὶ
 φηγοὺς σποδιοῦσι πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, μετρίας ὑπο-
 b πίνοντες. καὶ οὕτως διάγοντες τὸν βίον ἐν εἰρήνῃ
 μετὰ ὑγιείας, ὡς εἰκός, γηραιοὶ τελευτῶντες ἄλλον
 τοιοῦτον βίον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδώσονται.”

Ἐξῆς δὲ λεκτέον καὶ περὶ τῶν Λακωνικῶν συμ-
 ποσίων. ‘Ηρόδοτος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἴστο-
 ριῶν περὶ τῆς Μαρδονίου παρασκευῆς λέγων καὶ
 μνημονεύσας Λακωνικῶν συμποσίων φησί “Ξέρξης
 φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν παρα-
 σκευὴν κατέλιπε τὴν αὐτοῦ. Παυσανίαν οὖν ἴδόντα
 c τὴν τοῦ Μαρδονίου παρασκευὴν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργυρῷ
 καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις κατεσκευασμένην
 κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἀρτοποιοὺς καὶ ὁψοποιοὺς κατὰ
 ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δείπνου παρασκευάσαι.
 ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ κελευσθέντα τὸν Παυ-
 σανίαν ἴδόντα κλίνας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς ἐστρω-
 μένας καὶ τραπέζας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ παρασκευὴν
 μεγαλοπρεπῆ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα
 κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ διακόνοις παρα-
 σκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δείπνον. καὶ παρασκευα-
 σθέντος γελάσας δὲ Παυσανίας μετεπέμψατο τῶν
 d Ἐλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἐλθόντων ἐπιδείξας
 ἐκατέρου τῶν δείπνων τὴν παρασκευὴν εἶπεν
 ‘ἄνδρες Ἐλληνες, συνήγαγον ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος

¹ After ἐψήματα A adds τε, not in C nor in Plato

^a Chap 82; cf. Athen. 150 c.

would appear,' he said, 'that you represent your men as feasting without any relish.' 'Quite true,' I said; 'I forgot that they will have a relish also, such as salt, of course, and olives, and cheese; and they will cook bulbs and green vegetables, the sort of which they make boiled dishes in the country. And we will set before them dessert, I suppose, figs and chick-peas and beans, and they will toast myrtle-berries and beech-nuts before the fire, sipping their wine in moderation the while. Thus will they spend their lives, peacefully and healthily, and in all probability will die in old age and transmit a similar mode of life to their offspring ' "

Next we must speak also of Spartan symposia. Now Herodotus, in the ninth book of his *Histories*,^a speaking of Mardonius's tent and mentioning by the way the Spartan banquets, says · "When Xerxes fled from Greece he left behind the royal pavilion ^b for Mardonius. Pausanias, therefore, when he saw the tent of Mardonius adorned with gold and silver and embroidered tapestries, commanded the bakers and fancy cooks to prepare a dinner exactly as they would for Mardonius. When they had done his bidding, Pausanias, seeing the gold and silver divans spread with coverings, and silver tables and a magnificent outlay for the dinner, in amazement at what was set before him, ordered in jest his own servants to prepare a Spartan dinner. And when it was ready, Pausanias laughed and sent for the Greek generals. On their arrival he pointed to the preparations made for each of the dinners and said: 'Men of Greece, I have gathered you together because I

^a In imitation of which the Athenians built the Odeon,
Paus. i 20. 3.

ATHENAEUS

“ ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην, ὃς τοιαύτην δίαιταν ἔχων ἥλθεν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὕτω ταλαιπωρον ἔχοντας¹ φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἄνδρα Συβαριτην ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Σπάρτῃ καὶ συνεστιαθέντα ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις εἰπεῖν· ἐικότως ἀνδρειότατοι ἀπάντων εἰσὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἔλοιτο γὰρ ἄν¹ τις εὑφρονῶν μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ οὕτως εὐτελοῦς διαιτης μεταλαβεῖν.”

e Πολέμων δ’ ἐν τῷ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι κανάθρῳ τοῦ παρὰ Λάκωσι καλουμένου δείπνου κοπίδος μημονεύοντα Κρατίνον ἐν Πλούτοις λέγειν.

ἄρ² ἀληθῶς τοῖς ξένοισιν ἔστιν, ὡς λέγουσ³, ἐκεῖ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ κοπίδι θοινάσθαι καλῶς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς λέσχαισι φύσκαι προσπεπατταλευμέναι κατακρέμανται τοῖσι πρεσβύταισιν ἀποδάκνειν ὀδάξ;

καὶ Εὔπολις ἐν Εἴλωσι·

f καὶ γένηται τοῖσδε σάμερον κοπίς.

Δείπνον δ’ ἔστιν ἴδιας ἔχον ἡ κοπίς, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον ἄικλον. ἐπὴν δὲ κοπίζωσι, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ σκηνὰς ποιοῦνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ἐν δὲ ταύταις στιβάδας ἔξ ψῆλης, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων δάπιδας ὑποστρωνύουσιν, ἐφ’ αἷς τοὺς κατακλιθέντας εὐωχοῦσιν οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς ἀφικνούμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδημήσαντας τῶν ξένων. θύουσι δ’ ἐν ταῖς κοπίσιν αἴγας, ἀλλο δ’ οὐδὲν

¹ ἄν added by Dindorf

^a Frag. 86 Preller. ^b Agesilaus 8. 7. ^c Kock 1. 63.

^d Kock 1. 294. The verb is in a dependent clause, perhaps beginning with “if.”

wish to show you the folly of the Median commander who, with all his luxury of living, came to attack us who are so poor.' And some say that a Sybarite who had sojourned in Sparta and had been entertained among them at their public mess remarked : ' It is no wonder that Spartans are the bravest men in the world ; for anyone in his right mind would prefer to die ten thousand times rather than share in such poor living.' "

Polemon,^a commenting on the wicker carriage mentioned in Xenophon,^b cites Cratinus as mentioning in *The Plutuses*^c the feast at Sparta which is called *Kopis* (" Cleaver "). He says : " Is it then true, as they say, that yonder in Sparta all strangers who arrive are richly feasted at the Cleaver, and that in the public lounges sausages hang nailed to the walls for the old men to bite off with their teeth ? " And Eupolis in *The Helots*^d : ". . . and the Cleaver be celebrated in honour of these men to-day."

The Cleaver is a dinner of a special sort, as is also that which is called the *aiklon*. Whenever they celebrate the Cleaver they first cause to be constructed booths beside the temple of the god,^e and in them they place rough couches of wood ; upon these they spread rugs, on which they hospitably entertain all who have placed themselves in a reclining posture there—not merely persons who arrive from our^f country, but also any foreigners who have come to town. At the Cleaver they sacrifice goats, but no other victim of any kind ; and

^a Possibly Apollo of Amyclae.

^b The pronoun shows that Polemon, who came from the Troad, is no longer the authority ; but the quotation is resumed immediately.

ATHENAEUS

ιερεῖον· καὶ τῶν κρεῶν διδόσαι μοίρας πᾶσι καὶ τὸν
 139 καλούμενον φυσίκιλλον, ὃς ἔστιν ἀρτίσκος ἐγκρίδι
 παραπλήσιος, γογγυλώτερος δὲ τὴν ἰδέαν. διδόσαι
 τῶν συνιόντων ἑκάστῳ τυρὸν χλωρὸν καὶ γαστρὸς
 καὶ φύσκης τόμον καὶ τραγήματα σῦκά τε ἔηρὰ καὶ
 κυάμους καὶ φασῆλους χλωρούς. κοπίζει δὲ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ βουλόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ
 πόλει κοπίδας ἄγουσι καὶ τοῖς Τιθηνίδοις καλουμέ-
 νοις ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν· κομίζουσι γὰρ αἱ τιτθαὶ τὰ
 ἄρρενα παιδία κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ἀγρόν,
 ἢ καὶ¹ πρὸς τὴν Κορυθαλίαν καλουμένην "Αρτεμιν, ἵς
 τὸ ιερὸν παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην Τίασσόν ἔστιν ἐν
 τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Κλήταν μέρεσι, τὰς κοπίδας παρ-
 πλησίως ταῖς λελεγμέναις ἐπιτελοῦσι. θύουσι δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς γαλαθηνοὺς ὀρθαγορίσκους καὶ παρα-
 τιθέασιν ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ τοὺς ἴπνύτας ἄρτους.

"Οτι ἄικλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων καλεῖται τὸ
 δεῖπνον.² Ἐπίχαρμος γοῦν ἐν Ἐλπίδι φησίν·

ἐκάλεσε γάρ τύ τις
 ἐπ' αἰκλον ἀέκων,³ τὺ δὲ ἔκων ὥχεο τρέχων.

ε τὰ αὐτὰ εἴρηκε καὶ ἐν Περιάλλῳ “ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακε-
 δαίμονι τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον μετὰ δεῖπνον
 τὸ καλούμενον ἄικλον εἰσφέρουσιν ἄρτους ἐν ἀρ-
 ριχίδι καὶ κρέας ἑκάστῳ, καὶ τῷ νέμοντι τὰς μοίρας
 ἀκολουθῶν ὁ διάκονος κηρύττει τὸ ἄικλον προστιθεὶς
 τοῦ πέμψαντος τὴν ὀνομασίαν.”

¹ καὶ omitted by C, deleted by Kaibel, who reads καὶ
 ταῦτα after μέρεσι

² ὅτι ἄικλον ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων καλεῖται τὸ δεῖπνον C: τὸ δὲ
 ἄικλον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων καλεῖται δεῖπνον A

³ ἀέκων Wilamowitz. ἔκων A

^a Since the speaker has just referred to Rome in τῇ
 134

of the meat they give portions to all, also the cake called *physikillos*,^a which is a small cake like the *enkris* ("honey-cake"), but rounder in shape. They give to all who come together there a green cheese, a slice of paunch and sausage, and dessert consisting of dried figs, dried beans, and green beans. Any one among the Spartiates, besides, who wishes to do so may take part in the Cleaver. They celebrate the Cleaver in town; they also celebrate the Nurse Festival, called *Tithendia*, for the children. In this the nurses take the male children at the time of the Cleaver into the country, and there, before the image of Artemis Korythalia, as she is called, whose temple is beside the fountain of Tiassus, in the region toward Cleta, they celebrate the Cleaver in the same way as for those first mentioned. They also sacrifice sucking-pigs, and at the festival banquet they serve the oven-bread mentioned before.^b

By the other Dorians the chief meal is called *aiklon*. Epicharmus, at any rate, says in his *Hope*^c. "For someone unwillingly invited you to dinner (*aiklon*), but you made off to it on the run quite willingly." He has the same also in *Periillus*. "But in Sparta the so-called *aiklon* comes after the dinner; they serve it to those who are admitted to the mess, being bread loaves in baskets and a piece of meat for each. The attendant who accompanies the distributor of the meat announces the *aiklon*, adding the name of the donor."

^a μεδαπῆς, it is probable that φυσίκιλλος is Latin, not Laconian, quasi *fissiculus*, a small roll cleft in the middle; cf. φούλλικλον, *folliculus*, 14 f.

^b See 109 c, 115 e

^c Kaibel 97, 111, Diels 223.

ATHENAEUS

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πολέμων πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς—καλεῖ δὲ τοῦτον Δημήτριος ὁ Τροιζήνιος βιβλιολάθαν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὃν ἐκδέδωκε συγγραμμάτων· ἔστι γὰρ τρισχύλια πρὸς ^d τοὺς πεντακοσίους—φησὶ τάδε· “Πολυκράτης,” φησί, “ἐν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἴστορεῖ ὅτι τὴν μὲν τῶν Υακινθίων θυσίαν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι καὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γινόμενον¹ περὶ τὸν Υάκινθον οὕτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοὺς δείπνοις οὕτε ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσιν οὕτε² ἄλλα πέμματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα διδόσαι καὶ τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ἄδουσιν οὐδὲ³ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον εἰσάγουσιν οὐδὲν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποιοῦσιν, ἄλλα μετ’ εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται. τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται θέα ποικίλη καὶ πανήγυρις ἀξιόλογος καὶ μεγάλη· ε παῖδές τε γὰρ κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἄδοντες πάσας ἀμά τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ρύθμῳ μὲν ἀναπαίστῳ, μετ’ ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ἄδουσιν· ἄλλοι δ’ ἐφ’ ἵππων κεκοσμημένων τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται· χοροί τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ἄδουσιν, ὄρχησταί τε ἐν τούτοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τὴν κίνησιν ἀρχαικὴν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν καὶ τὴν ὥδην φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένων, αἱ δ’ ἐφ’ ἀμύλλαις ἀρμάτων ἔζενγμένων πομπεύουσιν, ἅπασα

¹ Gulick: γενόμενον AC

² οὕτε added by Schweighausei

³ AC have καμαρωτῶν ξυλίνων ἀρμάτων, “covered wooden chariots,” a gloss deleted by Dobree

Thus Polemon ; but he is contradicted by Didymus the grammarian (whom Demetrius of Troezen calls the “book-forgetter” because of the number of treatises—three thousand five hundred—which he has published). Didymus says : “ Polycrates relates in his *History of Sparta*^a that the Spartans observe the ritual of the Hyacinthia for a period of three days, and because of the mourning which takes place for the death of Hyacinthus they neither wear crowns at the meals nor introduce wheat bread, nor do they dispense any cakes, with their accompaniments, and they abstain from singing the paean to the god,^b and do not introduce anything else of the sort that they do at other festivals. On the contrary, they eat with great restraint, and then depart. But in the middle of the three-day period there is held a spectacle with many features, and a remarkable concourse gathers which is largely attended. Boys with tunics girded high play the lyre or sing to flute accompaniment while they run the entire gamut of the strings with the plectrum ; they sing the praises of the god in anapaestic rhythm and in a high pitch. Others march through the theatre mounted on gaily adorned horses ; full choirs of young men enter and sing some of their national songs, and dancers mingling among them go through the figures in the ancient style, accompanied by the flute and the voice of the singers. As for the girls, some are carried in wicker carts which are sumptuously ornamented, others parade in chariots yoked to two horses, which they race, and the entire city is

^a F.H.G. iv. 480.^b Apollo.

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δ' ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾶ τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν. ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἴδιους οὐδεὶς δ' ἀπολείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θέαν.

140 Τῆς δὲ κοπίδος μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἡ Φιλούλλιος ἐν ταῖς Πόλεσιν, Ἐπίλυκός τε ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ λέγων οὕτως·

ποττὰν κοπίδ³, οἰῶ, σώμαι
ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖον¹ παρ² Ἀπέλλω,
εἴ² βαράκες πολλαὶ³ κάρτοι
καὶ δωμός⁴ τοι μάλα ἄδυς,

διαρρήδην λέγων μάζας ἐν ταῖς κοπίσι παρατίθεσθαι—τοῦτο γάρ αἱ βάρακες δηλοῦσιν, οὐχὶ τολύπας, ὡς φησι Λυκόφρων, ἢ τὰ προφυράματα τῶν μαζῶν, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης—καὶ ἄρτους δὲ καὶ ζωμόν τινα καθηδυσμένον περιττῶς. τίς δέ ἔστιν ἡ κοπὶς σαφῶς ἐκτίθεται Μόλπις ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως ‘ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς καλουμένας κοπίδας ἔστὶν δ' ἡ κοπὶς δεῖπνον, μάζα, ἄρτος, κρέας, λάχανον ὡμόν, ζωμός, σῦκον, τράγημα, θέρμος.’ ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅρθαγορίσκοι λέγονται, ὡς φησιν δὲ Πολέμων, οἱ γαλαθηνοὶ χοῖροι, ἀλλ' ὅρθραγορίσκοι, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸν ὅρθρον πιπράσκονται, ὡς Περσαῖος ἵστορεῖ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης ἐν β' πολιτείας καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ

¹ οἰῶ, σώμαι ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖον Ahrens (after Bergk), ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖον Gulick. οιωσώμ' αἱὲν ἀμυκλαῖον A.

² παρ² Ἀπέλλω Ahrens, εἴ² Kaibel: παραγγέλλωσι A

³ πολλαὶ Kaibel. πολλὰ οἱ A ⁴ δωμός Dindorf: δωδεμός A

given over to the bustle and joy of the festival. On that day they sacrifice very many victims, and the citizens entertain at dinner all their acquaintances and their own servants as well. Not one misses the festival; on the contrary, it so happens that the city is emptied to see the spectacle.

"The Cleaver festival is mentioned also by Aristophanes or Philyllius in *The Island Towns*,^a and by Epilycus in *Coraliscus*,^b who says: 'To the Cleaver methinks I'll go, to Apollo's kirk at Amyclae, where are tall barley-cakes, fu' many, and wheaten loaves, and a broth that is bonny.' Thus he expressly says that barley-cakes are served at the Cleavers. For that is what 'tall barley-cakes' (*barakes*) means—not 'dumplings' (*tolypae*), as Lycophron asserts, nor the bits of barley-cakes in the first kneading, as Eratosthenes says^c; further, there were wheat-loaves and a broth of some kind, extraordinarily well seasoned. What the Cleaver really is is plainly set forth by Molpis in his *Lacedaemonian State*. He writes as follows^d 'They also celebrate the so-called Cleavers. This is a dinner consisting of barley-cake, wheat loaf, meat, uncooked greens, broth, fig, nut, and lupine.' What is more, the sucking-pigs sacrificed are not called *orthagorisci*, as Polemon maintains, but *orthragorisci*, because they are offered for sale at dawn (*orthros*), as Persaeus in his *Spartan State*^e and Dioscurides in the second book of the *State*^f assert, to whom may be added also

^a Kock i. 786.

^b Kock i. 803.

^c Frag. 26 Streck.

^d F.H.G. iv. 453.

^e Ibid. ii. 623^e The last part of the word is here connected with *ἀγοράζεται*, "is marketed."

^f Ibid. ii. 192.

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ε καὶ οὗτος τῆς Λακώνων πολιτείας. ἔτι φησὶν ὁ Πολέμων καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄικλον προσαγορεύεσθαι, παραπλησίως ἀπάντων Δωριέων οὕτως αὐτὸς καλούντων. Ἀλκμὰν μὲν γάρ οὕτω φησί·

κήπι τῷ μύλᾳ δρυφῆται κήπι τᾶς συναικλίαις,
οὕτω τὰ συνδείπνια καλῶν. καὶ πάλιν· ἄικλον
'Αλκμάων ἄρμόξατο.' ἄικλον δ' οὐ λέγουσιν οἱ Λάκωνες τὴν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον μοῖραν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ διδόμενα τοῖς φιδίταις μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἄρτος γάρ ἔστι καὶ κρέας. ἀλλ' ἐπάικλα μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα, ὅντα οἷον ἐπιχορηγήματα τοῦ συντεταγ-
d μένου τοῖς φιδίταις ἀικλού· παρὰ γάρ τοῦτο οἵμαι τὴν φωνὴν πεποιῆσθαι. καί ἔστιν ἡ παρα-
σκευὴ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπάικλων οὐχ ἀπλῆ, καθάπερ δ Πολέμων ὑπεληφεν, ἀλλὰ διττή· ἦν μὲν γάρ τοῖς παισὶ¹ παρέχουσι πάνυ τις εὔκολος ἔστι καὶ εὐτελῆς. ἄλφιτα γάρ ἔστιν ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένα, ἣ φησὶ Νικοκλῆς ὁ Λάκων κάπτειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν φύλλοις δάφνης, παρὸ καὶ καμ-
ματίδας μὲν προσαγορεύεσθαι τὰ φύλλα, αὐτὰ e δὲ τὰ ψαιστὰ κάμματα. ὅτι δὲ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς πάλαι καὶ φύλλα δάφνης τραγηματίζεσθαι Καλλίας ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Κύκλωψι φησιν οὕτως.

φυλλὰς ἡ δείπνων κατάλυσις ἥδε καθάπερ σχη-
μάτων.

ἢν δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φιδίτια κομίζουσι, σκευο-
ποιεῖται ἔκ τινων ζῷων ὥρισμένων, παραχορη-

¹ παισὶ Basle edition: πᾶσι A.

Aristocles, who says the same in the first of his two books on the *State of the Spartans*.^a Further, Polemon says that the chief meal is called *aiklon* by the Spartans, all Dorians alike calling it the same. For Alcman, at any rate, has it thus.^b 'Whether he is at the mill or at the company mess (*synaikhai*), he tears his hair,' calling by this name the meals shared together. And again.^c 'Alcmaon hath made ready the meal (*aiklon*).' Spartans do not say ' *arklon*' for the portion following dinner; and what is more, the word as they use it does not signify the doles given to messmates after the dinner; for it means bread and meat. These, on the contrary, are called *epaikla*, being, as it were, additional viands served to messmates after the regular *aiklon*, or meal. It is from this, I fancy, that the word *epaiklon* is formed. Moreover, what is prepared for the so-called *epaikla* is not uniform, as Polemon assumes, but is of two sorts: that, namely, which they give to the boys is very simple and frugal, being merely barley-meal soaked in oil, which the Spartan Nicocles says^d they greedily gulp down (*kapro*) after dinner on laurel leaves, whence, he says, the leaves are called *kammatus*, but the meal-cakes themselves are called *kammata*.^e And that it was a practice among the men of long ago even to munch laurel leaves as a dessert is shown by Callias (or Diocles), who says, in *The Cyclopians*: 'Here comes the dish of leaves, which means an end to our dinners and our dances as well.' But that which they bring in for the men's mess is prepared from certain definite

^a F.H.G. iv. 464.^b P.L G.⁴ frag 70.^c Ibid. 71. ^e^d F H.G. iv. 464.^e Cf. Eng. "snack," of a small luncheon hastily eaten.^f Kock i. 694.

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γοῦντος αὐτὰ τοῖς φιδίταις ἐνὸς τῶν εὐπορούντων,
ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ πλειόνων.

‘Ο δὲ Μόλπις καὶ ματτύην φῆσὶ προσαγορεύε-
σθαι τὰ ἐπάικλα. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπάικλων Πέρσαῖος ἐν
τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ οὐτωσὶ γράφει· ‘καὶ εὐθὺς
τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ζημιοῦ εἰς ἐπάικλα· ταῦτα δέ
ἐστιν μετὰ δεῖπνον τραγήματα· τοῖς δ’ ἀπόροις
ἐπιτάπτει κάλαμον ἢ στιβάδα ἢ φύλλα δάφνης
φέρειν, ὅπως ἔχωσι τὰ ἐπάικλα κάπτειν μετὰ
δεῖπνον γίνεται γάρ ἄλφιτα ἐλαίω ἐρραμένα.
τὸ δ’ ὅλον ὥσπερ πολίτευμά τι τοῦτο δὴ συν-
ισταται μικρόν. καὶ γάρ ὅντινα δεῖ πρώτον
κατακεῖσθαι ἢ δεύτερον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιμποδίου
καθῆσθαι, πάντα τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν εἰς ἐπάικλα.’

141 τὰ ὅμοια ἴστορεῖ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης. περὶ δὲ τῶν
καμματίδων καὶ τῶν καμμάτων Νικοκλῆς οὕτως
γράφει ‘διακούσας δε πάντων ὁ ἔφορος ἦτοι
ἀπέλυσεν ἢ κατεδίκασεν. ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἔζημίωσεν
ἐλαφρῶς ἤτοι κάμμασιν ἢ καμματίσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ
τὰ μὲν κάμματα ψαιστά, αἱ δὲ καμματίδες αἱς
κάπτουσι τὰ ψαιστά’

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν φιδιτίων¹ δεῖπνου Δικαίαρχος
τάδε ἴστορεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τριπολιτικῷ.
‘τὸ δεῖπνον πρώτον μὲν ἔκαστω χωρὶς παρ-
τιθέμενον καὶ πρὸς ἔτερον κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν
ἔχον εἴτα μᾶζαν μὲν ὅσην ἀν ἔκαστος ἢ βουλό-
μενος, καὶ πιεῖν πάλιν ὅταν ἢ θυμὸς ἔκαστω

¹ φιδιτίων edd : φειδιτίων A, perhaps by a popular etymology connected with φείδομαι, “be parsimonious”

^a F.H.G. II. 623.

^b The Ephor.

^c For cakes strung on poles, as in Greece to-day, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 372 B.

^d F.H.G. IV 464.

^e *Ibid.* II 242; the title apparently refers to a theory

animals, which are given as a present to messmates by one, sometimes even several, among the rich members

" Molpis says that these after-dishes are also called *mattyē*. Concerning them Persaeus, in *The Spartan State*,^a writes as follows : ' And immediately he assesses the well-to-do in a sum sufficient to pay for the *epaikla*; these are desserts following the chief meal. But from the poor he^b requires a contribution of a reed or rush^c or laurel leaves, so that they may be able to gulp down their *epaikla* after dinner. These consist of barley-cakes mixed with oil. The whole proceeding, trifling to be sure, has become an act of governmental administration. Whoever is appointed to take the first or the second place on the couch, or to sit upon the bed, must in all cases do the same at the *epaikla*'. A similar account is given by Dioscurides. Concerning the laurel leaves and the food served on them Nicocles^d writes thus : ' The Ephor heard the cases of all and either acquitted or condemned them. The victor levies a light fine consisting of meal cakes (*kammata*) or laurel leaves (*kammatides*) to serve them on. These *kammata* are cakes, while the *kammatides* are the leaves with which they gulp them down '

" Concerning the dinner eaten by the members of the mess, Dicaearchus records the following in the work entitled *Tri-State*^e . ' The dinner is at first served separately to each member, and there is no sharing of any kind with one's neighbour. Afterwards there is a barley-cake as large as each desires, and for drinking, again, a cup is set beside him to of the state which sought to combine the best features of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.

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κώθων¹ παρακείμενός ἐστιν. ὅψον δὲ ταῦτὸν ἀεὶ ποτε πᾶσιν ἐστιν, ὕειον κρέας ἔφθον, ἐνίοτε δ' οὐδ' ὀτιμενοῦν² πλὴν ὄψον τι μικρὸν ἔχον σταθμὸν ὡς τέταρτον μάλιστα, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἔτερον οὐδὲν πλὴν ὅ γε ἀπὸ τούτων ζωμὸς ἵκανὸς ὃν παρὰ πᾶν τὸ δεῖπνον ἀπαντας αὐτοὺς παραπέμπειν, κανὸν ἄρα ἐλάτη τις ἡ τυρὸς ἡ σῦκον, ἀλλὰ κανὸν τι λάβωσιν ἐπιδόσιμον, ἵχθυν ἡ λαγῶν ἡ φάτταν ἡ τι τοιοῦτον. εἴτ' ὁξέως ἥδη δεδειπνηκόσιν ὕστερα περιφέρεται ταῦτα τὰ ἐπάικλα καλούμενα. συμφέρει δ' ἔκαστος εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον ἀλφίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιψιέδιμνα Ἀττικά, οἵνου δὲ χοεῖς ἔνδεκα τινας ἡ δώδεκα, παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα τυροῦ σταθμὸν τινα καὶ σύκων, ἔτι δὲ εἰς ὄψωνίαν περὶ δέκα τινὰς Αἰγαίων δύοβολούς³. Σφαῖρος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας γράφει· φέρουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπάικλα αὐτοῖς οἱ φιδίται· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγρευομένων ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνίοτε οἱ πολλοί, δ' οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἵ γε πλούσιοι καὶ ἄρτον καὶ ὃν ἂν ὥρα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν δύον εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν συνουσίαν, νομίζοντες καὶ τὸ⁴ πλείονα τῶν ἵκανῶν παρασκευάζειν περιττὸν εἶναι, μὴ μέλλοντά γε προσφέρεσθαι. Μόλπις δέ φησι· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον εἴωθεν ἀεὶ τι παρά τινος κομίζεσθαι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ παρὰ πλειόνων, παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' οἶκον ἡρτυμένη⁵ ματτύη,⁶ δὲ καλοῦσιν ἐπάικλον τῶν δὲ

¹ κώθων Casaubon καθ' ὃν A

² δ' οὐδ' ὀτιμενοῦν Schweighäuser: δε τι μονοι A.

³ τὸ Casaubon: τὰ A

⁴ ἡρτυμένη Casaubon: ἡρτυμένα A, ἡρτυμένην C

⁵ ματτύη Casaubon: ματτύην AC.

^a The Attic medimnus equals about $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels.

use whenever he is thirsty. The same meat dish is given to all on every occasion, a piece of boiled pork ; sometimes, however, not even so much as that is served, beyond a small bit of meat weighing not over a quarter of a pound. Besides this there is nothing whatsoever, except, of course the broth made from this meat, enough to go round among the entire company throughout the whole dinner ; there may possibly be an olive or a cheese or a fig, or they may even get something especially added, a fish or a hare or a ring-dove or something similar. Afterwards, when they have finished their dinner in haste, there are passed round these so-called *epaikla*. Each member contributes to the mess about three half-medimni of barley, Attic measure,^a and perhaps eleven or twelve pitchers^b of wine ; besides this, a certain weight of cheese and figs, and further, to procure the meat, about ten Aeginetan obols.' And Sphaerus, in the third book of his *Spartan State*,^c writes. 'The members of the mess also contribute *epaikla* to them. Sometimes the common people bring whatever is caught in the chase ; but the rich contribute wheat bread and anything from the fields which the season permits, in quantities sufficient for the one meeting alone, because they believe that to provide more than is enough is uncalled for, if the food is not going to be eaten.' And Molpis^d says 'Following the meal, it is customary always for something to be provided by some person, sometimes even by several persons, a dish (*mattyē*) prepared in their own homes, and called *epaiklon*. No one is in the habit of contributing

^b Each pitcher contained nearly six pints.

^c F.H.G. iii. 20.

^d *Ibid* iv. 453

κομίζομένων ούδεις οὐθὲν ἀγοράσας εἴωθεν φέρειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἥδονῆς οὐδ' ἀκρασίας γαστρὸς οὕνεκεν κομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς εἰς κατὰ τὴν θήραν ποιούμενοι πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ποίμνια αὐτῶν τρέφοντες ἀφθόνως μεταδιδόσι τῶν ἐκγόνων ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ ματύα φάτται, χῆνες, τρυγόνες, κίχλαι, κόσσυφοι, λαγώ, ἄρνες, ἔριφοι. οἱ δὲ μάγειροι σημαίνουσι τοὺς ἀεί τι κομίζοντας εἰς μέσον, ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι¹ τὴν τῆς θήρας φιλοπονίαν καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκτένειαν

Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῷ α' τοῦ Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου τὴν τῶν Καρνείων φησὶν ἑορτὴν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μίμημα εἶναι στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς. Εἰ τόπους μὲν γὰρ εἶναι θ' τῷ ἀριθμῷ, σκιάδες δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται σκηναῖς ἔχοντες παραπλήσιόν τι· καὶ ἐννέα καθ' ἔκαστον ἄνδρες δειπνοῦσι, πάντα τε ἀπὸ προστάγματος κηρύσσεται,² ἔχει τε ἐκάστη σκιὰς φρατρίας τρεῖς καὶ γίνεται ἡ τῶν Καρνείων ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας θ'.

Τὴν δὲ τῆς διαιτῆς τῆς τοιαύτης σκληρότητα ὑστερούν καταλύσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἐξώκειλαν εἰς τρυφήν Φύλαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῇ ε'³ καὶ κ' τῶν ιστοριῶν τάδε γράφει περὶ αὐτῶν “Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς μὲν τὰ φιδίτια οὐκ ἥρχοντο κατὰ τὸ πάτριον 142 ἔθος· ὅτε δὲ καὶ παραγένοντο, μικρὰ συμπεριενεχθεῖσι νόμοιν⁴ χάριν παρεσκευάζετο καὶ σκιάδεια⁵ αὐτοῖς στρωμναῖ τε τοῖς μεγέθεσιν οὕτως ἐξησκη-

¹ εἰδῶσι Kaihel. ίδωσι AC.

² προστάγματος A, προσταγμάτων C, κηρύσσεται AC: κηρύγματος πράσσεται Kaihel.

³ ε' Brueckner. τε A.

⁴ συμπεριενεχθεῖσι νόμοιν Casaubon συμπ̄εριενεχθεῖσιν ὁμοῦ A.

⁵ σκιάδεια Kaihel: πάλιν AC.

anything which he has bought by purchase in the market, for they contribute, not to satisfy their pleasure or the greed of the stomach, but to give evidence of their own prowess in the hunt. Many of them, too, who keep flocks, give a liberal share of the offspring. And so the *mattyia* may consist of ring-doves, geese, turtle-doves, thrushes, blackbirds, hares, lambs, and kids. The cooks announce to the company the names of those who bring in anything for the occasion, in order that all may realize the labour spent upon the chase and the zeal manifested for themselves.'

" Demetrius of Scepsis, in Book i. of *The Trojan Battle-order*,^a says that the festival of the Karneia at Sparta is a representation of their military discipline. There are, namely, places numbering nine, which they call 'sunshades' because they bear some likeness to tents; and nine men eat in each, and a herald proclaims everything by order. Each 'shade,' moreover, holds three brotherhoods, and the festival of the Karneia is held for nine days" ^b

But the Spartans afterwards desisted from the austerity of such a mode of living and degenerated into luxury. Phylarchus, at any rate, in the twenty-fifth book of his *Histories*,^c writes of them. "The Spartans desisted from going to the common mess in the traditional fashion; when they did go, the booths which were set up for those who resorted thither, in obedience to the law, were small, and the couch-coverings prepared for them were so

^a Frag. 1 Gaede.

^b Here ends, apparently, the quotation from Didymus, begun at 139 d ^c

^c F.H.G. 1 346; by "Spartans" are meant the Spartan kings, cf. Plutarch, *Cleom.* 13.

μέναι πολυτελῶς καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ διαφόρως ὥστε τῶν ξένων ἐνίους τῶν παραληφθέντων ὀκνεῦν τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐπὶ τὰ προσκεφάλαια ἔρειδειν. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ κλιντηρίου ψιλοῦ διακαρτεροῦντες¹ παρ’ ὅλην τὴν συνουσίαν, ὅτε τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἄπαξ ἔρεισειαν ² εἰς δὲ τὴν προειρημένην τρυφήν ἥλθον ποτηρίων τ’ ἐκθέσεις πολλῶν καὶ βρωμάτων b παντοδαπῶς πεποιημένων παραθέσεις, ἔτι δὲ μύρων ἔξηλλαγμένων, ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς οἶνων καὶ τραγημάτων. καὶ τούτων ἥρξαν οἱ μικρὸν πρὸς Κλεομένους βασιλεύσαντες³ Ἀρευς καὶ Ἀκρότατος αὐλικὴν ἔξουσίαν ζηλώσαντες⁴ οὓς τοσοῦτον αὐθὶς ὑπερῆράν τινες τῶν ἴδιωτῶν τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ καθ’ αὐτούς, ὥστε δοκεῖν τὸν Ἀρεα καὶ τὸν Ἀκρότατον εὐτελείᾳ πάντας ὑπερβεβληκέναι τοὺς ἀφελεστάτους τῶν πρότερον.

Κλεομένης δὲ πολὺ διενέγκας τῷ τε συνιδεῦν πράγματα, καίτοι νέος ὡν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν c ἀφελέστατος γέγονεν. ἥδη γὰρ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ἡγούμενος ἔμφασιν τοῖς παραλαμβανομένοις πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐποίει διότι τὰ παρὰ ἐκείνοις τῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν καταδεέστερον εἴη παρασκευαζόμενα. πολλῶν δὲ πρεσβειῶν παραγινομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδέποτε ἐνωρίστερον τοῦ κατειθισμένου συνῆγεν καιροῦ, πεντακλίνου τε διεστρώνυντο οὐδέποτε πλεῖστον. ὅτε δὲ μὴ παρείη πρεσβεία, τρίκλινον καὶ πρόσταγμα οὐκ ἐγίνετο δι’ ἐδεάτρου d τίς εἴσεται καὶ κατακλιθήσεται πρῶτος, ἀλλ’ ὁ

¹ AC add the gloss τῆς κλίνης, deleted by Wilamowitz.

² The verb is wanting.

^a Cleomenes III (272–220) became king ca. 235 B.C.

generous in size and so richly adorned with embroidery that some of the strangers who were invited hesitated to press their elbows against the cushions. In the old days, once they had rested their arms upon the couch, which was quite bare, they endured the rigour of it as long as the assembly lasted ; now, however, they have relaxed in the luxury just mentioned, indulging in the display of many cups, and in the service of food dressed in every variety, and what is more, rare unguents and wines and desserts likewise. And these practices, in imitation of the regal court of Persia, were begun by Areus and Acrotatus, who reigned a little while before Cleomenes^a ; yet even they in their turn were so far outdone in their own magnificence by certain private citizens of their generation in Sparta, that Areus and Acrotatus seemed to surpass in frugality all the men of earlier times, no matter how simple these may have been.

" Cleomenes, however, who greatly excelled other men in his understanding of affairs, in spite of his youth, also grew to be most simple in his mode of life. For though he was by this time at the head of affairs of great importance, he made it plain to all whom he invited to a sacrificial feast that the arrangements which they made in their own houses were in no wise inferior to his. Although many embassies were received in audience before him, he never assembled them for dinner earlier than the customary time, and never caused more than five couches to be spread with coverings ; when no embassy was present, he had only three couches prepared. And no directions were given by a seneschal concerning who should sit or recline first ; on the contrary, the

ATHENAEUS

πρεσβύτατος ἥγεντο ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας, εἰ μή τιν³
αὐτὸς προσκαλέσαιτο. κατελαμβάνετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ
πολὺ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κατακείμενος ἢ μετά τινος
τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν. ἐπὶ τε τῷ τρίποδι ψυκτήρῳ χαλ-
κοῦς ἐπέκειτο καὶ κάδος καὶ σκαφίον ἀργυροῦν δύο
κοτύλας χωροῦν καὶ κύαθος, ἢ δ'⁴ ἐπίχυσις χαλκῆ
πιεν δὲ οὐ προσεφέρετο εἰ μή τις αἰτήσειεν·
ἔδιδοτο¹ δὲ κύαθος εἰς πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου, αὐτῷ δὲ²
πολὺ πρώτῳ· καὶ ὅτε προσνεύσειεν ἐκεῖνος, οὕτως
ἥτον καὶ οἱ λοιποί. τὰ δὲ παρατιθέμενα ἐπὶ μὲν
ετραπεζίου ἦν τοῦ τυχόντος, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὥστε μήθ³
ὑπεραίρειν μήτ⁴ ἐλλείπειν,⁴ ἀλλ' ἵκανὰ ἄπασι γίνε-
σθαι καὶ μὴ προσδεῖσθαι τοὺς παρόντας. οὕτε γὰρ
οὕτως φέτο δεῖν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις δέχεσθαι
ζωμῷ καὶ κρεαδίοις ἀφελῶς οὕτε πάλιν οὕτως ὑπερ-
τείνειν ὡς εἰς τὸ μηθὲν δαπανᾶν, ὑπερβάλλοντα τὸ
σύμμετρον τῆς διαιτῆς τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεύθερον
ἐνόμιζε, τὸ δ'⁵ ὑπερήφανον. ὁ δ' οἶνος ἦν μικρῷ
βελτίων ὅτε παρείησάν τινες ἐπεὶ δὲ δειπνήσειαν,
ἐσιώπων πάντες, ὁ τε παῖς ἔφειστήκει κεκραμένον
ἢ ἔχων τὸ ποτὸν καὶ τῷ αἴτοῦντι προσέφερε τὸν
αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον οὐ πλεῖστον
ἔδιδοτο δύο κυάθων καὶ τοῦτο προσνεύσαντι προσ-
εφέρετο. ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε παρεπορεύετο,
διετέλει δ' αὐτὸς προσομιλῶν πρὸς ἔκαστον καὶ
πάντας ἐκκαλούμενος εἰς τὸ τὰ μὲν ἀκούειν, τὰ δὲ
λέγειν αὐτούς, ὥστε τεθηρευμένους ἀποτρέχειν
ἀπαντας.⁶

¹ αἰτήσειεν ἔδιδοτο Casaubon: αἰτήσει ἐνεδίδοτο A

² αὐτῷ δὲ Kaihel. τὸ δὲ A

eldest led the way to the couches, unless Cleomenes himself called out the name of some person. Usually he was found to be reclining with his brother, or with one of the men of his own age. On the tripod lay a bronze cooler, a wine-jar, a silver bowl holding a pint, and a ladle, the pitcher was of bronze. But no drink was offered unless someone asked for it. One ladleful was given before the meal, to Cleomenes long before the others, and only when he nodded to them did the others ask for theirs. The courses served on the small table were quite ordinary, and for the rest, they were in such quantity as neither to exceed nor fall short of the need—enough for all without having any of the guests call for more. For Cleomenes thought that they ought not to receive merely the frugal entertainment of broth and bits of meat, as they did at the common mess, nor, on the other hand, to go to such excess as to waste money to no good, by exceeding the moderation of their daily life. For the one he regarded as meanness, the other as pride. The wine was of a little better quality when guests were present. After the meals all remained silent, and the slave, standing by with the wine ready mixed, gave it to anyone who asked for it. Just as before the meal, so also after it, not more than two ladlesful were offered, and then only when one signified his desire by a nod. No entertainment ever accompanied the meal, but the king himself conversed with each in turn, inviting all either to listen or to speak, so that they were all captivated by him when they departed.”

^ε μήθ' Dindorf: μὴ AC

⁴ μήτ' ἐλλείπειν Meineke μήτε λείπειν AC.

⁵ ἐνθμίζε, τὸ δ' Meineke. ἐνομίζετο AC

ATHENAEUS

Διακωμῳδῶν δ' Ἀντιφάνης τὰ Λακωνικὰ δεῖπνα
ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι "Αρχων φῆσὶν οὕτως.

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ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ

γέγονας· ἔκείνων τῶν νόμων μεθεκτέον
ἐστίν. βάδιζος· ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὰ φιδίτια¹.
ἀπόλαυε τοῦ ζωμοῦ, φορεῦν² τοὺς βύστακας
μὴ καταφρόνει³ μηδὲ ἔτερος· ἐπιζήτει καλά.
ἐν τοῖς δ' ἔκείνων ἔθεσιν ἵσθι ἀρχαικός.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν Κρητικῶν συσσιτίων Δωσιάδας
ἴστορῶν ἐν τῇ δέ τῶν Κρητικῶν γράφει οὕτως.
“οἱ δὲ Λύττιοι⁴ συνάγουσι μὲν τὰ κοινὰ συσσίτια
οὕτως. ἔκαστος τῶν γυνομένων καρπῶν ἀναφέρει
b τὴν δεκάτην εἰς τὴν ἑταῖρίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως
προσόδους ἃς διανέμουσιν⁵ οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς
πόλεως εἰς τοὺς ἔκάστων οἴκους τῶν δὲ δούλων
ἔκαστος Αἰγιναῖον φέρει στατῆρα κατὰ κεφαλήν.
διγήρηνται δέ οἱ πολῖται πάντες καθ' ἑταῖρίας,
καλοῦσι δὲ ταύτας ἀνδρεῖα. τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχει
τοῦ συσσιτίου γυνὴ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας τῶν δημοτικῶν
προσευληφύνα πρὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἔκάστω δέ
a αὐτῶν ἀκολουθοῦσι δύο θεράποντες ξυλοφόροι.
καλοῦσι δέ αὐτοὺς καλοφόρους. εἰσὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ
κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην οἵκοι δύο τὰς συσσιτίας, ὥν
c τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀνδρεῖον, τὸν δέ ἄλλον ἐν ᾧ τοὺς
ξένους κοιμίζουσι κοιμητήριον προσαγορεύουσι.
κατὰ δὲ τὸν συσσιτικὸν οἵκον πρῶτον μὲν κεῖνται

¹ φιδίτια Cobet. φειδίτια A.

² φορεῦν Schweighäuser: φέρει AC, ρόφει Ruhnken.

³ μὴ καταφρόνει AC. μητέτι φέρει Herwerden, μὴ καινοτόμει,
“bring no innovations,” Kock. The translation adopts the
Ionic meaning of καταφρόνει, “be ambitious for”

⁴ Λύττιοι Wilamowitz. λύτγιοι A.

Antiphanes, satirizing Spartan dinners in the play entitled *The Magistrate*,^a has the following : " You have been in Lacedaemon ! Then you must conform to their customs : go to the common mess for your dinner ; enjoy their broth, give up wearing your ambitious mustachios,^b and seek no more for other refinements. In their customs be yourself old-fashioned."

Recording facts about the Cretan commons in the fourth book of his *Cretan History*,^c Dosiadas writes as follows : " The Lyttians pool their goods for the common mess in this way : every man contributes a tithe of his crops to his club, as well as the income from the state which the magistrates of the city divide among the households of all the citizens.^d But all slaves pay one Aeginetan stater *per caput*. The citizens are distributed in clubs which are called *andreia* (' halls of men '). The mess is in charge of a woman who has assistants, three or four men chosen from the common people. Each of them is attended by two servants who bring in the fire-wood ; these are called faggot-bearers. Everywhere throughout Crete there are two houses for the public messes ; one of these is called *andreion*, the other, in which they entertain strangers, is called *hormeterion* (' resting-place '). In the house intended for the mess there are set out, first of all, two tables, called ' guest-

^a Kock ii. 28.

^b The Ephors forbade the wearing of a moustache. See critical note.

^c F.H.G. iv. 399.

^d See crit. note.

⁵ Kabel, not believing that the revenues were divided among the *citizenis*, proposed, after *ētaiplav*, *καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς προσθῶν*, *ἀδιανέμουσιν*, " also a tithe of their other income, which the magistrates divide."

ATHENAEUS

δύο τράπεζαι ξενικαὶ καλούμεναι, αἷς προκαθίζουσι¹ τῶν ξένων οἱ παρόντες ἔξῆς δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἄλλων. παρατίθεται δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἵσον μέρος ἐκάστῳ· τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις ἡμισυ δίδοται κρέως, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐθενὸς ἀπτονται. εἴτα ποτήριον ἐν ἐκάστῃ τραπέζῃ παρατίθεται κεκραμένον ὑδαρῶς τοῦτο κοινῇ πάντες πίνουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν²
d τράπεζαν, καὶ δειπνήσασιν ἄλλο παρατίθεται. τοῖς δὲ παισὶ κοινὸς³ κέκραται κρατήρ. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ἐὰν βούλωνται πλεῖον πιεῖν ἔξουσία δέδοται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τὰ βέλτιστα τῶν παρακειμένων ἡ προεστηκυῖα τῆς συσσιτίας γυνὴ φανερῶς ἀφαιροῦσα παρατίθησι τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἥ κατὰ σύνεσιν δεδοξασμένοις. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δείπνου πρώτον μὲν εἰώθασι βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, εἴτα μετὰ ταῦτα μέμνηνται τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον πράξεων καὶ τοὺς γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι, προτρεπόμενοι τοὺς νεωτέρους εἰς ἄνδραγαθίαν⁴;

e Πυργίων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Κρητικῶν Νομίμων “ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, φησίν, οἱ Κρῆτες καθήμενοι συσσιτοῦσι⁵. καὶ ὅτι ἀβαμβάκευστα τοῖς ὄρφανοῖς παρατίθεται καὶ ὅτι οἱ νεώτατοι αὐτῶν ἐφεστᾶσι διακονοῦντες· καὶ ὅτι μετ' εὐθημίας σπείσαντες τοῖς θεοῖς μερίζουσι τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἀπασι· ἀπονέμονται δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοῖς κατὰ τὸν θάκον τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑφιζάνουσιν ἔξη ἡμισείας τῶν τοῖς ἄνδράσι παρατιθεμένων, τοὺς δ' ὄρφανοὺς ἴσο-

¹ προκαθίζουσι AC. προσκαθίζουσι Meineke

² αὐτὴν Meyer κοινὴν AC.

³ κοινὸς AC εἰς μόνος Dobree.

⁴ συσσιτοῦσι Dobree εὐσιτοῦσι A. The next words, καὶ ὅτι . παρατίθεται, are probably a late gloss, cf. below

tables,' at which sit in honour any strangers who are in town; next come the tables for the others. An equal portion of the food on hand is served to each person; but only a half-portion of meat is given to the younger men, and they get nothing of the other food. Then on each table is placed a cup filled with wine much diluted, this is shared by all who are at the same table, and a second cup is served after they have finished the meal. For the boys a mixing-bowl is prepared which they share in common, but permission is given the older men to drink more if they desire. The woman in charge of the mess takes from the table in the sight of all the best of everything that is served, and sets it before the men who have distinguished themselves in war or in wisdom. After dinner they are in the habit first of deliberating on public affairs; from that subject they proceed to call up deeds of prowess in war and to praise the men of proved bravery, in order to encourage the younger men in the pursuit of virtue."

Pyrgion, in the third book of his *Cretan Customs*,^a says that Cretans at the public mess eat together in a sitting posture^b He further says that food without condiments is served to the orphans; that the youngest of the Cretan men stand by to wait at the tables; and that, after a silent libation to the gods, they proceed to the distribution of the food on hand to all present. They also apportion to the sons seated below their fathers' chairs only one half as much as is served to the adult men, but the orphans receive an equal share with the latter, although in

^a *F.H.G.* iv. 486.

^b Instead of reclining.

ATHENAEUS

ἢ μερεῖς εἶναι· παρατίθεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἀβαμβάκευτα τῇ κράσει καθ' ἔκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων. ἥσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θᾶκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτη δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἄνδρεῖα, ἦν Ξενίου τε Διὸς ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον.”

‘Ηρόδοτος δὲ συγκρίνων τὰ τῶν ‘Ελλήνων συμπόσια πρὸς τὰ παρὰ Πέρσαις φησόν· “ἥμέρην δὲ Πέρσαι ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἔκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἔκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιεῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαιμονεῖς αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ὅνον καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον προτιθέαται ὀλους ὄπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοις· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτίθενται. σίτοισι τε ὀλίγοισι χρέονται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασι Πέρσαι τοὺς “Ἐλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἀν οὐ παύεσθαι οὕνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται· καὶ σφιν οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστιν, οὐκ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλον. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ εἰώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἀν ἀδηγ σφίσι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στεγέαρχος ἐν τοῦ ἀν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀδηγ καὶ νήφουσι, χρέονται αὐτῷ εἰ δὲ μή, μετιεῖσιν. τὰ δ' ἀν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγυνώσκουσι.”

^a 1 133

^b Cf the incredulity of Dicaeopolis about this (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 85) quoted above, 131 a.

their case each of the customary foods is served without the admixture of any condiments. There were also chairs reserved for guests, and a third table at the right as one entered the halls, which they called 'the table of Zeus, god of strangers,' or 'the strangers' table.' "

Herodotus,^a comparing the symposia of the Greeks with those of the Persians, says : " Of all the days in the year, the one which the Persians are accustomed to celebrate most is their birthday. On that day they deem it right to have a more abundant feast set before them than on all other days. Then the rich among them cause to be brought to the table an ox or ass or horse or camel roasted whole in the oven ;^b the poor set out small animals. Breadstuffs they use but little, but they have many added dishes, though they are not served all at once. And the Persians say that the Greeks are still hungry when they stop eating, because nothing worth mentioning is brought in for them after the chief meal ; if more were put before them they would not stop eating. The Persians are greatly addicted to wine ; and it is not permissible to vomit or to make water in presence of another. These, then, are the customs observed by them. They are in the habit of deliberating on the most important matters when they are drunk, and whatsoever is their pleasure when they deliberate is brought before them for consideration the next day, when they are sober, by the master of the house where they happen to be when they deliberate. And if it still be their pleasure when they are sober, they act on it, otherwise they renounce it. Again, whatever they decide upon when they are sober they reconsider when they are drunk "

ATHENAEUS

Περὶ δὲ τῆς τρυφῆς τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλέων
 Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτῳ γράφει· “τῷ μὲν
 γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες
 τί ἀν ἥδέως πίοι, μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται τί ἀν
 ἥδέως φάγοι· ὅπως γε μὴν καταδάρθοι οὐδέ” ἀν
 εἴποι τις ὅσα πραγματεύονται Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
 διὰ τὸ φιλόπονος εἶναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἥδέως
 ἔπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ συντυχὸν ἥδέως ἥσθιεν· εἰς δὲ
 τὸ ἀσμένως κοιμηθῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἵκανὸς ἦν
 αὐτῷ.” ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἱέρωνι ἐπιγραφομένῳ λέγων
 περὶ τῶν τοῖς τυράννοις παρασκευαζομένων καὶ
 τῶν τοῖς ἴδιωταις εἰς τροφάς φησιν οὕτως “καὶ
 οἵδια γε, ἔφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν
 οἱ πλεῖστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν
 ἴδιωτῶν ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἀν δειπνήσαι
 d τὸ ἥμιν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς. τὸ
 γὰρ τὰ εἰώθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς
 ἥδονάς, διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἥδέως προσ-
 δέχονται τὰς ἑορτὰς πλὴν¹ οἱ τύραννοι ἐκπλεῷ
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ παρεσκευασμέναι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς
 ἑορταῖς ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τράπεζαι
 ὥστε ταύτη πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος
 μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἴδιωτῶν ἔπειτα, ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο
 εὖ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ ὅτι ὅσῳ ἀν πλείω
 e τις² παραθῆται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἵκανῶν, τοσούτῳ
 καὶ θᾶσσον³ κόρος ἔμπιπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς. ὥστε
 καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἥδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρα-
 τιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων ἀλλὰ

¹ πλὴν οὐχ A, ἀλλ' οὐχ C

² ὅσῳ ἀν τις πλέων τις A, ὅσῳ ἀν τις πλείωτις C.

³ θᾶσσον μᾶλλον A ~

Concerning the luxury of the Persian kings Xenophon writes thus in *Agesilaus*^a . “ For the benefit of the Persian king they go about the entire country in search of something he may like to drink, and countless persons devise dishes which he may like to eat. No one could say, either, what trouble they give themselves that he may sleep in comfort. But Agesilaus, being devoted to hard work, was glad to drink anything that was before him, and was glad to eat whatever came first to hand, and any place was satisfactory to him for securing grateful sleep.” In the work entitled *Hieron*,^b speaking of what food is prepared for the delectation of tyrants and of men in private station, he says . “ I know too, Simonides, that most persons infer that we eat and drink with greater zest than ordinary people from this fact, that they would themselves, as they believe, be more pleased to dine on the meal that is set before us than on what is served to themselves. For it is anything that transcends the usual that gives pleasure,^c which is the reason why all men except tyrants look forward with joy to holiday feasts For since the tables set before tyrants are always heavily laden, they have nothing special to offer on feast-days, so that here is the first particular in which they are at a disadvantage compared with men in private station, namely in the delight of anticipation. Then secondly, he said, I am sure that you have learned that the more abundantly one is supplied with things which go beyond his needs, the more quickly he suffers from satiety as regards eating. Wherefore, again, the one who has too many things set before him is at a disadvantage, compared with those who live moderately, in the duration of his pleasure.’ ‘ Yes,

ATHENAEUS

ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη δὲ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἀν χρόνον ἡ
ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἥδονται οἱ
ταῦς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν
τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατίθεμένων.”

Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Κάσανδρον περὶ
βασιλείας (εἰ γνήσιον τὸ σύγγραμμα πολλοὶ γὰρ
αὐτό φασιν εἶναι Σωσιβίου, εἰς δὲ Καλλίμαχος
οὐ ποιητὴς ἐπίνικον ἐλεγειακὸν ἐποίησεν) τοὺς
Περσῶν φησι βασιλεῖς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς προκηρύττειν
ἢ τοὺς ἐφευρίσκουσί τινα καινὴν ἥδονὴν ἀργυρίου
πλῆθος. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ
πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὸν Παφλαγόνων φησὶ¹⁴⁵
βασιλέα Θῦν ἑκατὸν πάντα παρατίθεσθαι δει-
πνοῦντα ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπὸ βοῶν ἀρξάμενον.
καὶ ἀναχθέντα αἰχμάλωτον ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἐν
φυλακῇ ὄντα πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ παρατίθεσθαι ζῶντα
λαμπρῶς. διὸ καὶ ἀκούσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην εἰπεῖν
ὅτι οὕτως αὐτῷ δοκοί ζῆν ὡς ταχέως ἀπ-
καδεκάτη τῶν Φιλιππικῶν “ὅταν, φησί, βασιλεὺς
εἴς τινας ἀφίκηται τῶν ἀρχομένων, εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον
αὐτοῦ δαπανᾶσθαι εἴκοσι τάλαντα, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ
τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ καὶ πολὺ πλείω δαπανῶσιν.
ἐκάσταις γὰρ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ὕσπερ
ὁ φόρος καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τεταγμένον
ἐστίν.”

‘Ηρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Κυμαῖος ὁ τὰ Περσικὰ συ-
γγράψας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων
ἢ Παρασκευαστικῶν “καὶ οἱ θεραπεύοντες, φησί,
τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλεῖς δειπνοῦντάς ἀπαντες λε-

but, good heavens,' Simonides replied, ' so long as their appetites are keen, surely those who enjoy a richer array of food must have more pleasure than those before whom poorer dishes are set.'"

Theophrastus, in his treatise *On Monarchy*^a dedicated to Cassander (if the work is authentic; for many declare that it is by Sosibius, for whom the poet Callimachus wrote a congratulatory poem in elegiac verse), says that the Persian kings, to gratify their love of luxury, offer a large sum of money as a reward for all who invent a new pleasure. And Theopompus, in the thirty-fifth book of his *Histories*,^b says that whenever the Paphlagonian prince Thys dined, he had a hundred of everything prepared for the table, beginning with oxen; and even when he was carried away a captive to the Persian king's court and kept under guard, he again had the same number served to him, and lived on a splendid scale. Wherefore, when Artaxerxes heard of it, he said that it was plain to him that Thys was living as though he had made up his mind to die soon. The same Theopompus, in the fourteenth book of his *History of Philip*,^c says that " whenever the Great King visits any of his subjects, twenty and sometimes thirty talents are expended on his dinner; others even spend much more. For the dinner, like the tribute, has from ancient times been imposed upon all cities in proportion to their population."

Heracleides of Cumae, author of the *Persian History*,^d writes, in the second book of the work entitled *Equipment*: " All who attend upon the Persian kings when they dine first bathe themselves

^a Frag. 125 Wimmer.

^b F H.G. i. 311.

^c Ibid. 298.

^d Ibid. ii. 96.

ATHENAEUS

λουμένοι διακονοῦσιν ἐσθῆτας λευκὰ¹ ἔχοντες καὶ διατρίβουσι σχεδὸν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. τῶν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως συνδείπνων οἱ μὲν ἔξω δειπνοῦσιν, οὓς καὶ δρᾶν ἔξεστι παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οἵ δὲ εἴσω μετὰ βασιλέως. καὶ οὗτοι δὲ οὐ συνδειπνοῦσιν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οἰκήματα δύο καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλων, ἐν ᾧ θ² ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἄριστον ποιεῖται καὶ ἐν ᾧ οἱ σύνδειπνοι· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκείνους ὅρᾳ διὰ τοῦ παρακαλύμματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ, ἐκεῖνοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρῶσιν. ἐνίστε μέντοι ἐπειδάν ἑορτὴ ἦ, ἐν ἐνὶ οἰκήματι ἅπαντες δειπνοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ οἴκῳ. ὅταν δὲ βασιλεὺς πότον ποιῆται (ποιεῖ³ δὲ πολλάκις), συμπόται αὐτῷ εἰσιν ὡς μάλιστα δώδεκα. καὶ ὅταν δειπνήσωσιν, ὁ τε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἱ σύνδειπνοι, καλεῖ τοὺς συμπότας τούτους τις τῶν εὐνούχων. καὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθωσι συμπίνουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον κάκεῖνοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν χαμαὶ καθήμενοι, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσόποδος ἀκατακέίμενος καὶ ὑπερμεθυσθέντες ἀπέρχονται. τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ὁ βασιλεὺς μόνος ἄριστῷ καὶ δειπνεῖ, ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῷ συνδειπνεῖ καὶ τῶν νιῶν ἔνιοι. καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἄδουσί τε καὶ ψάλλουσιν αἱ παλλακαὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ μία μὲν ἔξάρχει, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἀθρόως ἄδουσι. τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον, φησί, τὸ⁴ βασιλέως καλούμενον ἀκούσαντι μὲν δόξει μεγαλοπρεπὲς εἶναι, ἔξεταζόμενον δὲ

¹ λευκὰ C, καλὰ A. ² θ' added by Meineke.

³ ποιῆται ποιεῖ A · ποιεῖ ποιεῖται C ποιῆται, ποιεῖται Kaibel

⁴ τὸ Wilamowitz τοῦ A.

* Drinking-bout following the dinner.

and then serve in white clothes, and spend nearly half the day on preparations for the dinner. Of those who are invited to eat with the king, some dine outdoors, in full sight of anyone who wishes to look on ; others dine indoors in the king's company. Yet even these do not eat in his presence, for there are two rooms opposite each other, in one of which the king has his meal, in the other the invited guests. The king can see them through the curtain at the door, but they cannot see him. Sometimes, however, on the occasion of a public holiday, all dine in a single room with the king, in the great hall. And whenever the king commands a symposium ^a (which he does often), he has about a dozen companions at the drinking. When they have finished dinner, that is, the king by himself, the guests in the other room, these fellow-drinkers are summoned by one of the eunuchs ; and entering they drink with him, though even they do not have the same wine ; moreover, they sit on the floor, while he reclines on a couch supported by feet of gold ; and they depart after having drunk to excess. In most cases the king breakfasts and dines alone, but sometimes his wife and some of his sons dine with him. And throughout the dinner his concubines sing and play the lyre ; one of them is the soloist, ^b the others sing in chorus. And so, Heracleides continues, the 'king's dinner,' as it is called, will appear prodigal to one who merely hears about it, but when one examines it carefully it will be found to have been got up with economy.

^a The significance of this for the history of the drama should be noted. In Aristot. *Poet.* iv., where tragedy is said to be derived ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, τῶν ἐξαρχόντων certainly does not mean, as Bywater renders it, "authors."

ATHENAEUS

φανέῖται οἰκονομικῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς συντεταγμένον ε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Πέρσαις τοῖς ἐν δυναστείᾳ οὓσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ χίλια ἵερεῖα τῆς ἡμέρας κατακοπτόμενα· τούτων δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ κάμηλοι καὶ βόες καὶ ὄνοι καὶ ἔλαφοι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα πρόβατα· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθες ἀναλίσκονται, οἵ τε στρουθοὶ οἱ Ἀράβιοι—ἐστὶν δὲ τὸ ζῷον μέγα—καὶ χῆνες καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες. καὶ μέτρια μὲν αὐτῶν παρατίθεται ἔκάστῳ τῶν συνδείπνων τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἀποφέρεται ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ὁ τι ἀν καταλίπηται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρίστῳ. τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τούτων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν σιτίων οὓς τρέφει βασιλεὺς τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, τούτοις ἐκφέρεται εἰς τὴν αὐλήν· οὐδὲν ἡμιδεῆ¹ ἅπαντα μερίδας ποιήσαντες τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄρτων ἵσας διαιροῦνται. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μισθὸν ἀργύριον λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτως οὗτοι τὰ σιτία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ὑπόλογον λαμβάνουσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Πέρσαις τοῖς ἐν δυναστείᾳ οὓσιν ἀθρόα πάντα τὰ σιτία ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν παρατίθεται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ οἱ σύνδειπνοι δειπνήσωσι, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης καταλειπομένων² (καταλείπεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα κρέα καὶ ἄρτοι) ὁ τῆς τραπέζης ἐπιμελούμενος δίδωσιν ἔκάστῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν καθ' 146 ἡμέραν ἔχει τροφήν. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα φοιτῶσιν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι τῶν συνδείπνων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον μόνον διὰ τὸ παρηγήσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δὶς πορεύωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τρὺς συνδείπνους ὑποδέχωνται.”

‘Ηρόδοτος δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ ζ’ ὡς οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι

and even with parsimony ; and the same is true of the dinners among other Persians in high station. For one thousand animals are slaughtered daily for the king ; these comprise horses, camels, oxen, asses, deer, and most of the smaller animals ; many birds also are consumed, including Arabian ostriches—and the creature is large—geese, and cocks. And of all these only moderate portions are served to each of the king's guests, and each of them may carry home whatever he leaves untouched at the meal. But the greater part of these meats and other foods are taken out into the courtyard for the body-guard and light-armed troopers maintained by the king ; there they divide all the half-eaten ^a remnants of meat and bread and share them in equal portions. Just as hired soldiers in Greece receive their wages in money, so these men receive food from the king in requital for services. Similarly among other Persians of high rank, all the food is served on the table at one and the same time ; but when their guests have done eating, whatever is left from the table, consisting chiefly of meat and bread, is given by the officer in charge of the table to each of the slaves ; this they take and so obtain their daily food. Hence the most highly honoured of the king's guests go to court only for breakfast ; for they beg to be excused in order that they may not be required to go twice, but may be able to entertain their own guests."

Herodotus, in the seventh book, says ^b that those

^a See cr. n ^b Chap. 118 (Book η' as numbered to-day).

¹ ἡμιδεῆ̄ Kaihel, cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1 9. 25 : καὶ ἰδίᾳ, “individually,” Lumb: ἦν ἰδέῖν A.

² καταλειπομένων Meineke: παραλειπομένων AC.

ATHENAEUS

Ἐλλήνων τὸν βασιλέα¹ καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξην
 ἐσ πᾶν κακοῦ ἀφίκοντο οὕτως ὥστε ἐκ τῶν οἰκων
 ἀνάστατοι ἐγίνοντο². ὅκου Θασίοισιν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοις
 τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνίσασι³ τετρακόσια
 υ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου Ἀντίπατρος τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ
 δόκιμος⁴ ἐδαπάνησε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκπώματα ἀργυρᾶ
 καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ κρατῆρας παρετίθεντο, καὶ ταῦτα
 μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. . . .⁵ εἰ δὲ Ξέρξης δὶς ἐσιτέετο
 μεταλαμβάνων καὶ ἄριστον, ἀνάστατοι ἀν ἐγεγό-
 νεσαν αἱ πόλεις.” καὶ ἐν τῇ θ’ δὲ τῶν ἱστοριῶν
 φησι “βασιλίου δεῖπνον βασιλεὺς προτίθεται,
 τοῦτο δὲ παρασκευάζεται ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν
 ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο ὁ βασιλεύς. οὕνομα δὲ τῷ
 δεῖπνῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, Ἐλληνιστὶ δὲ τέλειον.
 τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμάται μοῦνον καὶ Πέρσαις
 σ δωρέεται” ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος δειπνῶν
 ἔκάστοτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἵστορει Ἐφιππος ὁ
 Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαι-
 στίωνος μεταλλαγῆς, ἀνήλισκε τῆς ἡμέρας μνᾶς
 ἔκατόν, δειπνούντων ἴσως ἔξηκοντα ἢ ἔβδομή-
 κοντα φίλων. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὡς φησι
 Κτησίας καὶ Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς, ἐδείπνει
 μὲν μετὰ ἀνδρῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, καὶ
 ἀνηλίσκετο εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τάλαντα τετρακόσια.

¹ τὸν βασιλέα AC: τὴν στρατιὴν Herodotus.

² εγίνοντο A and most mss. of Herodotus ἐγένοντο C and cod R of Herodotus.

³ δειπνίσασι C, δειπνήσασι A.

⁴ δόκιμος added from Herodotus

⁵ The sense of the missing words may be inferred from Herod. vii 119 πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπέλαυνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι, “they marched away only after they

Greeks who received the king and entertained Xerxes at dinner were reduced to such dire distress that they lost house and home. On one occasion, when the Thasians, to save the towns belonging to them on the mainland, received and entertained the army of Xerxes, four hundred talents in silver were expended in their behalf by Antipater, a prominent citizen ; for cups and mixing-bowls of silver and gold were furnished at table, and after the dinner (these were carried off as spoil by the Persians). If Xerxes had eaten there twice, taking breakfast as well as dinner, the cities would have been utterly ruined." And in the ninth book, also, of his *Histories*^a he says : " The Great King gives a royal banquet which is held once a year on his birthday. The name given to the dinner, in Persian, is *tukta*, which in Greek means ' complete.' On that day alone the king smears his head with ointment and gives presents to the Persians." Alexander the Great, every time he dined with his friends, according to Ephippus of Olynthus, in the book^b which describes the demise of Alexander and Hephaestion, spent one hundred minas,^c there being perhaps sixty or seventy friends at dinner. But the Persian king, as Ctesias^d and Dinon^e (in his *Persian History*) say, used to dine in company with 15,000 men, and four hundred talents^f were expended on the dinner. This amounts, in

^a Chap. 110 (Book i)^b p. 125 Muller.^c 1½ talents.^d Frag. 50 Muller.^e F H G. ii 93^f Over \$600,000 or \$10 (£8) a cover.

had taken all these vessels, leaving nothing, but looting them all."

ATHENAEUS

δι γίνεται δὲ ταῦτα Ἰταλικοῦ νομίσματος ἐν μυριάσι
διακοσίαις τεσσαράκοντα, αὗται δὲ εἰς μυρίους
πεντακισχιλίους μεριζόμεναι ἔκαστω ἀνδρὶ γί-
νονται ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἔξηκοντα Ἰταλικοῦ νομίσματος.
ῶστ' εἰς ἵσον καθίστασθαι τῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἀναλώματι· ἑκατὸν γάρ μνᾶς ἀνήλισκεν, ὡς δὲ
Ἐφιππος ἴστόρησε. Μένανδρος δὲ ἐν Μέθῃ τοῦ
μεγίστου δείπνου δαπάνημα τάλαντον τίθησι λέγων
οὕτως·

εἰτ' οὐχ ὅμοια πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν·

ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἡγορασμένον

- e δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,
αὐλητρὸς δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας,
Μενδαῖον,¹ Θάσιον, ἔγχέλεις, τυρόν, μέλι
μικροῦ ταλάντου, γίνεται τε κατὰ λόγον² . . .
ώς γάρ ὑπερβολῆς τιος ἀναλώματος τάλαντον ὠνό-
μασε. καὶ ἐν Δυσκόλῳ δέ φησιν οὕτως·

ώς θύουσι δὲ οἱ τοιχωρύχοι,
κίστας³ φέροντες σταμνία τ'⁴ οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἴνεκ', ἀλλ' ἔαυτῶν. ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὔσεβες

- f καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν δὲ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ
ἄπαν ἐπιτεθέν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ὁσφὺν ἄκραν
καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα,⁵ τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τάλλα καταπίνουσι

Φιλόξενος δὲ ὁ Κυθήριος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ
Δείπνῳ—εἴπερ τούτου καὶ δὲ κωμῳδιοποιὸς Πλά-
των ἐν τῷ Φάσιν ἐμνήσθη καὶ μὴ τοῦ Λευκαδίου
Φιλοξένου—τοιαύτην ἐκτίθεται παρασκευὴν δείπνου.

¹ Μενδαιον Athen. 364 d: ταῦτα A.

² μικροῦ ταλάντου, γίνεται τε κατὰ λόγον A at 364 d: μικροῦ
τάλαντον γίγνεται τὸ κατὰ λόγον A, a mistake due to the
attempt to finish the quotation at this point.

the coinage of Italy, to 2,400,000 denarii, which, divided among 15,000 men, make 160 denarii, Italic currency, for each man. Consequently it comes to the same sum as that spent by Alexander, which was one hundred minas, as Ephippus related. But Menander, in *The Carouse*,^a reckons the expense of the largest banquet at a talent only when he says : “ So then, our prosperity accords not with the way in which we offer sacrifice. For though to the gods I bring an offering of a tiny sheep bought for ten drachmas, and glad I am to get it so cheap : but for flute-girls and perfume, harp-girls, Mendean and Thasian wine, eels, cheese, and honey, the cost is almost a talent ; and whereas by analogy it is . . . ” He evidently mentions a talent as though it were an extravagant expenditure. Again, in *The Peevish Man*,^b he has the following : “ So burglars sacrifice : they bring chests and wine-jars, not for the gods’ sake, but for their own. The frankincense is required by religion, and so is the meal-cake ; the god gets this, offered entire on the fire. But they, after giving the end of the spine and the gall-bladder to the gods—because unfit to eat—gulp down the rest themselves.”

Philoxenus of Cythera, in the poem entitled *The Banquet* (granting that it is he and not the Leucadian Philoxenus, who was mentioned by the comic poet Plato in *Phaon*^c), describes the arrangements of a

^a Kock iii. 91, Allinson 402. Cf. Athen. 364 d, where the quotation is extended.

^b Kock iii. 38, Allinson 346.

^c Kock i. 646.

³ κιστας Grotius : κοίτας A.

⁴ τι added by Brunck

⁵ δστέα τὰ ἀβρωτα Clement of Alexandria, Strom p 277.

ATHENAEUS

*εἰς δ’ ἔφερον διπλόοι παῖδες λιπαρῶπα τράπεζαν
ἄμμ’, ἐτέραν δ’ ἔτεροις, ἄλλοι δ’ ἐτέραν, μέχρι
οὗ πλήρωσαν οἶκον.*

*ταὶ δὲ πρὸς ὑψηλύχνους ἔστιλβον αὐγὰς
εὐστέφανοι λεκάναις¹ παροψίσι τ’ ὀξυβάφων
πλήρεις . . σύν τε χλιδῶσαι
παντοδαποῖσι τέχνας εὑρήμασι πρὸς βιοτάν,
ψυχᾶς δελεασματίοισι.*

*πάρφερον ἐν κανέοις μάζας χιονόχροας, ἄλλοι
δ’ . .²*

*τοῖς δ’ ἔπι³ πρῶτα παρῆλθ’ οὐ κάκκαβος, ὁ
φιλότας, ἀλλ’ ἀλοπαγέσ τι μέγιστον.³*

*πάντ’ ἔπαθεν⁴ λιπαρόν τ’ ἐσ ἐγχέλεά τινες ἄριστον
γογγυροπροσωποτόμων⁵ πλῆρες θεοτερπέσ. ἔπ’
αὐτῷ δ’*

*ἄλλο παρῆλθε τόσον, βατὶς δ’ ἐνέησ⁶ ἵσόκυκλος
μικρὰ δὲ κακκάβι⁷ ἥσ ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν γαλεοῦ τι,
ναρκίον ἄλλο . .*

- . παρῆς ἔτερον πίων ἀπὸ τευθιάδων⁷ καὶ σηπιο-
πουλυποδείων

- . ἀπαλοπλοκάμων. θερμὸς μετὰ ταῦτα παρ-
ῆλθεν

ἵσοτράπεζος ὅλος νῆστις⁸ συνόδων πυρός . .

- . ἔπειτα βαθμοὺς ἀτμίζων ἐπὶ τῷ δ’ ἐπί-
πασται

*τευθίδες, ὁ φίλε, κάξανθισμέναι καρῆδες αἱ
κυφαὶ παρῆλθον.*

*θρυμματίδες δ’ ἐπὶ ταύταις εὐπέταλοι χλωραί
θ’ ἀδυφάρυγγες⁹ . .*

¹ Bergk: ἔστεφανοι λαχάνοις A.

dinner in these terms ^a : " And slaves twain brought unto us a table with well-oiled face, another for others, while other henchmen bore a third, until they filled the chamber. The tables glistened in the rays of the high-swinging lamps, freighted with trenchers and condiments delectable in cruets, full . . . and luxuriant in divers artful inventions to pleasure life, tempting lures of the spirit. Some slaves set beside us snowy-topped barley-cakes in baskets, while others (brought in loaves of wheat). After them first came not an ordinary tureen, my love, but a riveted vessel of huge size; . . . a glistening dish of eels to break our fast, full of conger-faced morsels that would delight a god. After this another pot of the same size came in, and a soused ray of perfect roundness. There were small kettles, one containing some meat of a shark, another a sting-ray. Another rich dish there was, made of squid and sepia-polyps with soft tentacles. After this came a faster-fish hot from its contact with fire, the whole as large as the table, exhaling spirals of steam. After it came breaded cuttle-fish, my friend, and crooked prawns done brown. Following these we had flower-leaved cakes and fresh confections spiced, puff-cakes of wheat

^a P.L.G.⁵ iii 601; assigned to Philoxenus of Leucas by Diehl, *Anthol. Lyrica*, iii 314.

² ἄλλοι δ' ἐπει A: ἄλλοι τοῦ δ' ἐπι Bergk.

³ ἀλοπαγές τι μέγιστον Kaihel. ἀλοπλατεῖς A, ἀλοπλατεῖς Hermolaus Barbarus: ἀλοπατεῖς B. ⁴ Corrupt.

⁵ γογγροπροσωποτόμων Kaihel γογγροιτοιωνητεμων A

⁶ Bergk: βαστισνεην A

⁷ τευθιάδων Bergk τευθιάδα A

⁸ νῆστις Schweighauser: μνηστης A: μναστηρ Kaihel.

⁹ ἡδυφάρυγγες Musurus δηφαρυγες A.

ATHENAEUS

πύρνων τε στεγαναὶ φύσται μέγαθος κακκάβου
 γλυκυσόξεις.¹
 ὅμφαλὸς θοίνας καλεῖται παρά γ' ἐμὸν καὶ τὸν,
 σαφ' οἶδα.
 ὕστατα² ναὶ μὰ θεοὺς ὑπερμέγεθες τέμαχος
 θύννου³ μόλεν ὀπτὸν ἐκεῖθεν
 θερμοῦ ὅθι γλυφάνοις⁴ τετμημένον εὐθὺς ἀπ'
 αὐτᾶς
 τᾶς ὑπογαστριδίας.⁵ διανεκέως ἐπαμύνειν⁶
 εἴπερ ἐμὸν τε μέλοι καὶ τὸν, μάλα κεν κεχαροίμεθ'.
 ἀλλ' ὅθεν⁷ ἐλλίπομεν, θοίνα παρέησ· ὅσα γ'
 ἀλλέξαι δυνατά, κρατέω κάγωγ⁸ ἔτι, κοῦ
 κε λέγοι τις
 πάνθ' ἀ παρῆν ἐτύμως ὕμμιν· παρέπαισε δὲ
 θερμὸν
 σπλάγχνον ἔπειτα δὲ νῆστις
 δέλφακος οἰκετικᾶς καὶ νῶτος ἐσῆλθε καὶ δσφὺς
 καὶ μινυρίγματα θερμά.
 καὶ κεφάλαιον ὅλον διάπτυχες ἐφθὸν ἀπερπευ-
 θηνος⁹ γαλακτοτρόφου¹⁰ πνικτᾶς ἐρίφου παρ-
 ἔθηκε,
 εἶτα διεφθ' ἀκροκώλια σχελίδας τε μετ' αὐτῶν
 λευκοφορινοχρόους, ρύγχη, κεφάλαια πόδας τε
 χναιμάτιόν τε σεσιλφιωμένον
 ἐφθά τ' ἔπειτα κρέ τὸπτά τ' ἀλλ' ἐρίφων τε
 καὶ ἄρνῶν,
 ἃ θ' ὑπερωμόκρεως¹¹ χορδὰ γλυκίστα
 μιξεριφαρινογενῆς, ἀν δὴ φιλέοντι θεοί, τοῦτο, ὡ
 φιλότας, . . . ἔσθοις κε λαγῳά τ' ἔπειτ'
 ἀλεκτρυσόνων τε νεοσσοί.
 περδίκων φάσσεων τε χύδαν ἥδη δὲ παρεβάλλετο
 θερμὰ πολλὰ . . .

with frosting, large as the pot. This is called the 'navel of the feast' by you and me, I ween. Last there came—the gods are my witnesses—a monstrous slice of tunny, baked hot, from over the sea where it was carved with knives from the meatiest part of the belly. Were it ours ever to assist at the task, great would be our joy. Yet even where we were wanting, the feast was complete. Where it is possible to tell the full tale, my powers still hold, and yet no one could recount truly to you all the dishes that came before us. I nearly missed a hot entrail, after which came in the intestine of a home-bred pig, a chine, and a rump with hot dumplings. And the slave set before us the head, boiled whole, and split in two, of a milk-fed kid all steaming; then boiled meat-ends, and with them skin-white ribs, snouts, heads, feet, and a tenderloin spiced with sulphur. And other meats there were, of kid and lamb, boiled and roast, and sweetest morsel of underdone entrails from kids and lambs mixed, such as the gods love, and you, my love, would gladly eat. Afterwards there was jugged hare, and young cockerels, and many hot portions of partridges and ring-doves were now lavishly laid beside us. Loaves

¹ κακκάβου γλυκυόξεις Hartung: κακάκακάβου γλυκυου δξιος A.

² ὕστατα Bergk: εσταδα A: ενσταδα Herm Barbarus

³ τέμαχος θίννου Schmidt: τιθεμος θυγμοῦ A.

⁴ θερμὸν ὅθι γλυφάνοις Bergk: θερμὸν ὅθεν γλυφις A.

⁵ ἀπ' αὐτᾶς τὰς ὑπογαστρίδιας Kaibel. ⁶ ἐπ' αὐτᾶς τὰς ὑπογαστρίδας A.

⁶ ἐπαμύνειν Bergk: ἐπαμυν A.

⁷ Bergk. οὐθὲν A.

⁸ ὅσα . . . κάγωγ' Kaibel: ὅτε παλάξαι δύνατ' ἐπικρατέως
ξγωγ' A. ⁹ Unintelligible.

¹⁰ γαλακτοτρόφου Kaibel: ἀλεκτοτρόφου A.

¹¹ ἡ θ' ὑπερωμόκρεως Bergk: αθυπερωμακαρδ A.

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καὶ μαλακοπτυχέων ἄρτων ὁμοσύζυγα δὲ ξανθόν τ' ἐπεισῆλθεν μέλι καὶ γάλα σύμπακτον,
τό κε τυρὸν ἅπας τις

ἥμεν ἔφασχ' ἀπαλόν, κηγῶν ἔφάμαν. ὅτε δ' ἥδη
βρωτύος ἥδε ποτάτος ἐς κόρον ἥμεν ἔταιροι,
τῆνα μὲν ἔξαπάειρον δμῶες, ἔπειτα δὲ παῖδες
νίπτρ' ἔδοσαν κατὰ χειρῶν.¹

Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ ‘Ρόδιος ἐν τρίτῳ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου τὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀναγράφων συμπόσιον τῆς τελευταίας Αἰγύπτου βασιλευσάσης, γημαμένης δ'
‘Αντωνίῳ τῷ ‘Ρωμαίων στρατηγῷ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ φησὶν οὕτως· “ἀπαντήσασα τῷ ‘Αντωνίῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐν Κιλικίᾳ παρεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ βασιλικὸν συμπόσιον, ἐνῷ πάντα χρύσεα καὶ λιθοκόλλητα περιττῶς ἔξειργασμένα ταῖς τέχναις· ἥσαν δέ, φησί, καὶ οἱ τοῦχοι ἀλουργέσι καὶ διαχρύσοις ἐμπεπετασμένοι ὕφεσι. καὶ δώδεκα τρίκλινα διαστρώσασα ἐκάλεσε τὸν ‘Αντώνιον μεθ' ὧν ἐβούλετο ἡ 148 Κλεοπάτρα. τοῦ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὅψεως ἐκπλαγέντος ὑπομειδιάσασα ταῦτ' ἔφη πάντα δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς αὔριον παρεκάλει συνδειπνῆσαι πάλιν ἥκοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων· ὅτε καὶ πολλῷ κρείττον διακοσμήσασα τὸ συμπόσιον ἐποίησε φανῆναι τὰ πρῶτα μικρά, καὶ πάλιν καὶ ταῦτα ἐδωρήσατο τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων ἐφ' ἥ ἔκαστος κατέκειτο κλίνῃ καὶ τὰ κυλικένα καθὼς ταῖς στρωμναῖς ἐμεμέριστο, ἐκάστῳ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄφοδον, τοῖς μὲν ἐν b ἀξιώμασι φορεῖα σὺν τοῖς κομίζουσι, τοῖς πλείοσι

¹ For the remainder of the poem see Athen. 409 e.

of bread there were, light and nicely folded ; and companioning these there came in also yellow honey and curds, and as for the cheese—every one would avow that it was tender, and I too thought so. And when, by this time, we comrades had reached our fill of food and drink, the thralls removed the viands, and boys poured water over our hands ”

Socrates of Rhodes, in the third book of the *Civil War*,^a describes the banquet given by Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, who married the Roman general, Antony, in Cilicia. His words are : “ Meeting Antony in Cilicia, Cleopatra arranged in his honour a royal symposium, in which the service was entirely of gold and jewelled vessels made with exquisite art ; even the walls, says Socrates, were hung with tapestries made of purple and gold threads. And having spread twelve triclinia, Cleopatra invited Antony and his chosen friends. He was overwhelmed with the richness of the display ; but she quietly smiled and said that all these things were a present for him ; she also invited him to come and dine with her again on the morrow, with his friends and his officers. On this occasion she provided an even more sumptuous symposium by far, so that she caused the vessels which had been used on the first occasion to appear paltry ; and once more she presented him with these also. As for the officers, each was allowed to take away the couch on which he had reclined ; even the sideboards, as well as the spreads for the couches, were divided among them. And when they departed, she furnished litters for the guests of high rank, with

^a *F.H.G.* III. 326.

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δὲ καταργύροις σκευαῖς κεκοσμημένους ἵππους, πᾶσι δὲ λαμπτηροφόρους παῦδας Αἰθίοπας παρέστησε. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ταλαντιαίους εἰς ρόδα μισθοὺς διέδωκε,¹ καὶ κατεστρώθη ἐπὶ πηχυαῖα² βάθη τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν ἀνδρῶνων³ ἐμπεπετασμένων δικτύων τοῖς ἔλιξιν.”

‘Ιστορεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν Ἀθήναις μετὰ ταῦτα διατρύψαντα περίοπτον ὑπὲρ τὸ θέατρον κατασκευάσαντα σχεδίαν χλωρῷ πεπυκασμένην ὅλη, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Βακχικῶν ἄντρων εἰ γίνεται, ταύτης τύμπανα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοδαπά ἀλλ’ ἀθύρματα Διονυσιακὰ ἔξαρτησαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐξ ἔωθινοῦ κατακλινόμενον μεθύσκεσθαι, λειτουργούντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντων ἀκροαμάτων συνηθροισμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τῶν Πανελλήνων. “μετεβαινε δ’ ἐνίστε, φῆσίν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν λαμπάσι δαδουχούμενης πάσης τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως. καὶ ἕκτοτε ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτὸν Διόνυσον ἀνακηρύττεσθαι κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας.” καὶ δ Γάιος δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ Καλλίκολα προσαγορευθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ γεννηθῆναι οὐ μόνον ὡνομάζετο νέος Διόνυσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Διονυσιακὴν πᾶσαν ἐνδύνων στολὴν προΐει καὶ οὗτως ἐσκευασμένος ἐδίκαζεν.

Εἰς ταῦτα ἔστιν ἀποβλέποντας τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πενίαν, λαμβάνοντας πρὸ δόθαλμῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Θηβαίοις δεῖπνα, περὶ ὧν

¹ διέδωκε Μεινέκε · δέδωκε A.

² πηχυαῖα Τουρ : πηχυα A.

³ ἀνδρῶνων Casaubon : δένδρῶν A

bearers, while for the greater number she provided horses gaily caparisoned with silver-plated harness, and for all she sent along Aethopian slaves to carry the torches. On the fourth day she distributed fees, amounting to a talent, for the purchase of roses, and the floors of the dining-rooms were strewn with them to the depth of a cubit,^a in net-like festoons spread over all."

He also records that Antony himself, on a later visit to Athens, erected a scaffold in plain sight above the theatre, and roofed with green boughs, like the "caves"^b built for Bacchic revels; on this he hung tambourines, fawnskins, and other Dionysiac trinkets of all sorts, where he reclined in company with his friends and drank from early morning, being entertained by artists summoned from Italy, while Greeks from all parts assembled to see the spectacle "And sometimes," Socrates continues, "he even shifted the place of his revels to the top of the Acropolis, while the entire city of Athens was illuminated with torches hung from the roofs. And he gave orders that henceforth he should be proclaimed as Dionysus throughout all the cities" So, too, the Emperor Gaius, who had the cognomen Caligula^c from the circumstance that he was born in camp, was named "the new Dionysus," and not only that, but he also assumed the entire garb of Dionysus, and made royal progresses and sat in judgement thus arrayed.

Viewing all this, which surpasses what we have, we may well admire Greek poverty, having also before our eyes the dinners of the Thebans, an

^a Probably the terrace where the choregic monument of Thrasyllus stood, now a Christian shrine.

^b Lat. *caliga*, a military boot.

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Κλείταρχος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρου ἱστοριῶν, διηγούμενος καὶ ὅτι “ ὁ πᾶς αὐτῶν πλοῦτος ηὔρεθη μετὰ τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς επόλεως κατασκαφὴν ἐν ταλάντοις τετρακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντά, φησίν, ὅτι τε μικρόφυχοι ἦσαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν λίχνοι, παρασκευάζοντες ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις θρῖα καὶ ἔψητοὺς καὶ ἀφύας καὶ ἐγκρασιχόλους καὶ ἀλλάντας καὶ σχελίδας καὶ ἔτνος· οἵσι Μαρδόνιον εἰστίασε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα Περσῶν Ἀτταγίνος¹ ὁ Φρύνωνος, ὃν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ μεγάλως πλούτῳ παρεσκευάσθαι. ἥγονῦμαι δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἀν περιεγένοντο οὐδὲ ἀν ἐδέήσε τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ Πλαταιὰς παρατάπτεσθαι ἀπολωλόσιν ἥδη ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τροφῶν.”

‘Ἀρκαδικὸν δὲ δεῖπνον διαγράφων ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἐκαταῖος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Γενεαλογιῶν μάζας φησὶν εἶναι καὶ ὕεα κρέα. Ἄρμόδιος δὲ ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλειαν Νομίμων “ ὁ κατασταθείσ, φησί, παρὰ Φιγαλεῦσι σίταρχος ἔφερε τῆς ἡμέρας οἴνου τρεῖς χόας καὶ ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον καὶ τυροῦ πεντάμνουν καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρτυσιν τῶν Ἱερείων ἀρμόττοντα. ἡ δὲ πόλις παρεῖχεν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν χορῶν τρία πρόβατα καὶ μάγειρον ὑδριαφόρον τε καὶ τραπέζας καὶ βάθρα πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν παρασκευήν, τὴν δὲ² τῶν περὶ τὸν μάγειρον σκευῶν ὁ χορηγός. τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν τοιοῦτο τυρὸς καὶ

¹ Ἀτταγίνος Herodotus. αὐτῷ μνος Α.

² τὴν δὲ Kaihel. πλὴν Α.

account of which is given by Cleitarchus in the first book of his *History of Alexander*.^a He says that “after the demolition of their city by Alexander, their entire wealth was found to be under 440 talents; he further says that they were mean-spirited and stingy where food was concerned, preparing for their meals mincemeat in leaves, and boiled vegetables, anchovies, and other small fish, sausages, beef-ribs, and pease-porridge. With these, Attaginus, the son of Phrynon, entertained Mardonius together with fifty other Persians, and Herodotus says in the ninth book^b that Attaginus was well supplied with riches. I believe that they could not have won the battle, and that the Greeks need not have met them in battle-array at Plataeae, seeing that they already had been done to death by such food.”

In describing an Arcadian dinner, the Milesian Hecataeus, in the third book of his *Genealogies*,^c says that it consisted of barley-cakes and swine’s flesh. And Harmodius of Lepreum, in his work on the *Customs of Phigaleia*,^d says: “The one who is appointed victualler among the Phigaleians used to supply daily three pitchers of wine, a bushel and a half of barley-meal, five pounds of cheese, and all the other things appropriate for seasoning the meat. The city, on its part, furnished each of the two choruses with three sheep, a cook,^e a rack for water-jars, tables, benches to sit on, and all similar equipment, while the choregus^f supplied the utensils for the cook. Now the meal consisted of cheese and a

^a Page 76 Muller.

^b Chap. 16

^c F.H.G. i. 28.

^d *Ibid.* iv. 411. •

^e Who was also butcher.

^f A citizen designated to pay for the training and equipment of a chorus.

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φυστὴ μᾶζα νόμου χάριν ἐπὶ χαλκῶν κανῶν τῶν παρά τισι καλουμένων μαζονόμων, ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας εἰληφότων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὅμοιū δὲ τῇ μάζῃ καὶ ^b τῷ τυρῷ σπλάγχνον καὶ ἄλες προσφαγεῖν. καθαγισάντων δὲ ταῦτα ἐν κεραμέᾳ¹ κοτταβίδι πιεῖν ἑκάστῳ μικρόν, καὶ ὁ προσφέρων ἄν εἴπειν ‘εὐδειπνίας’² εἴτα δ’ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ζωμὸς καὶ περικομμα, πρόσχερα δὲ ἑκάστῳ δύο κρέα. ἐνόμιζον δ’ ἐν ἄπαι τοῖς δείπνοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις μαζῶσι—τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ Διονυσιακὴ σύνοδος ἔχει τοῦνομα—τοῖς ἐσθίουσι τῶν νέων ἀνδρικώτερον ζωμόν τ’ ἐγχεῖν πλείω καὶ μάζας καὶ ἄρτους παραβάλλειν. γενναιός γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ^c ἐκρίνετο καὶ ἀνδρώδης ὑπάρχειν· θαυμαστὸν γὰρ ἦν καὶ περιβόητον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ πολυφαγία. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον σπονδὰς ἐποιοῦντο οὐκ ἀπονιψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ’ ἀποματτόμενοι τοῖς ψωμοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀπομαγδαλίαν ἔκαστος ἀπέφερε, τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἐνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμφόδοις γινομένων νυκτερινῶν φόβων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν παιὰν ἥδεται. ὅταν δὲ τοῖς ἥρωσι θύωσι, βουθυσία μεγάλη γίνεται καὶ ἐστιῶνται πάντες μετὰ

¹ κεραμέᾳ Athen. 479 c κεραμεῖαι A
² εὐδειπνίας Dobree εὐδειπνίας A εὐδειπνίας Athen. 479 d.

^a Two etymologies are here confused μαζονόμοι is from νέμω, “dispense,” not νόμος, “custom.”

^b Equivalent to “prosit” or “bon appetit.”

^c Eustathius, 728. 18, adds an explanation of “night terrors,” “the cause of which was attributed to Hecate” Eustathius evidently believed that these morsels were intended to placate the goddess whose dread powers availed most at night. The adage *canis vivens & magdalisi*, “a dog living on crumbs,” was suggested by the ordinary practice, which Athenaeus expressly says was not followed here, of

lightly kneaded barley-cake served, in deference to custom (*nomos*), on bronze trenchers called in some authors *mazonomoi* ('barley-cake servers'), having received their name from this use ^a. Along with the cake and the cheese were an entrail and salt to eat with it. Having consecrated this food, each man was permitted to drink a little from an earthenware basin, and the one offering it would say 'Good dinner to you!' ^b. Thereupon all shared alike a broth and a hash, and to each diner was given besides two slices of meat. At all their meals, but especially in those called *mazones* ('barley-feeds'), which name the guild of Dionysus retains even to this day, they held to the custom that for the more hearty eaters among the young men a larger quantity of broth should be poured out, and more barley-cakes and wheat bread should be placed before them. For such a young man was held to be manly and a thoroughbred, since hearty eating was admired and praised among them. After dinner they offered libations without washing their hands first, but wiping them off with pieces of bread; each man then carried away the crumbs. This practice they observed against the dangers which occur in the streets at night. ^c After the libation they sing a paean. But when they sacrifice to the spirits of the departed, there is a great slaughter of cattle, and all are feasted in company wiping the fingers on bits of bread and tossing these bits to the dogs. Nor is Schweighäuser right in explaining that the morsels carried away were intended to divert the ferocity of dogs met on the way home, except in so far as dogs, which were sacred to Hecate, might incarnate her mysterious nocturnal power. Capps conjectures φορβῶν for φόβων, "to have food at night while on patrol-duty." But φορβή is a poetic word, τροφή, as in modern Greek, being the generic word in later writers.

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τῶν δούλων· οἱ δὲ παιδεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἔστιάσεσι μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ λίθων καθήμενοι γυμνοὶ συνδει-
d πνοῦσιν.” Θεόπομπος δ’ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ τεσσαρα-
κοστῇ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν “οἱ Ἀρκάδες, φησίν, ἐν
ταῖς ἔστιάσεσιν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς δεσπότας καὶ
τοὺς δούλους καὶ μίαν πᾶσι τράπεζαν παρασκευά-
ζουσι καὶ τὰ σιτία πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ μέσον παρατιθέασι
καὶ κρατῆρα τὸν αὐτὸν πᾶσι κιρνᾶσι.”

“Παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις,” ὡς φησιν ‘Ἐρμείας
ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Γρυνείου Ἀπόλλωνος,
“ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι γενεθλίοις Ἐστίας
Πρυτανίτιδος καὶ Διονυσίοις, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τοῦ
Κωμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρει, εἰσιόντες πάντες
εἰς στολαῖς λευκαῖς, ἃς μέχρι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι
πρυτανικὰς ἐσθῆτας. καὶ κατακλιθέντες ἐπαν-
ίστανται εἰς γόνατα τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος τὰς πατρίους
εὐχὰς καταλέγοντος συσπένδοντες μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
κατακλιθέντες λαμβάνουσιν ἔκαστος οἴνου κοτύλας
δύο πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ τε Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος
καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τούτων γὰρ ἐκατέρω διπλοῦς ὁ
οἶνος μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεριδῶν δίδοται. ἐπειτα
ἐκάστῳ παρατίθεται ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἰς πλάτος
f πεποιημένος, ἐφ’ ὧ ἐπίκειται ἄρτος ἔτερος, ὃν
κριβανίτην καλοῦσι, καὶ κρέας ψειον καὶ λεκάριον
πτισάνης ἢ λαχάνου τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν γινομένου
ώά τε δύο καὶ τυροῦ τροφαλὶς σῦκά τε ἔηρὰ καὶ
πλακοῦς καὶ στέφανος καὶ ὃς ἂν ἔξω τι τούτων
ἱεροποιὸς παρασκευάσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμούχων ζημιοῦ-
ται, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς σιτουμένοις ἐν πρυτανείῳ
ἔξωθεν προσεισφέρειν τι βρώσιμον ἔξεστι, μόνα δὲ
ταῦτα καταναλίσκουσι, τὰ ὑπόλειπόμενα τοῖς

^a F.H.G. 1. 319.

^b Ibid. II. 80.

with their slaves ; at these festival banquets the boys dine with their fathers, sitting without cloaks on the stones ” And Theopompus, in the forty-sixth book of his *History of Philip*,^a says that “ the Arcadians entertain at their celebrations masters and slaves, setting one table before them all ; they freely serve food for all to share, and mix the same bowl for all ”

“ In Naucratis,” as Hermeias says in the second book *On the Gryneian Apollo*,^b “ the people dine in the town hall (*prytaneion*)^c on the natal day of Hestia Prytanitis and at the festival of Dionysus, and again at the great gathering in honour of the Comaeian Apollo, all appearing in white robes which even to this day they call their ‘ prytanic ’ clothes. After reclining they rise again, and kneeling, join in pouring a libation, while the herald, acting as priest, recites the traditional prayers. After this they recline, and all receive a pint of wine excepting the priests of Pythian Apollo and of Dionysus ; for to each of these latter the wine is given in double quantity, as well as the portions of everything else. Thereupon each diner is served with a loaf of pure wheat bread moulded flat, upon which lies another loaf which they call oven-bread^d ; also a piece of swine’s flesh, a small bowl of barley gruel or of some vegetable in its season, two eggs, a bit of fresh cheese, some dried figs, a flat-cake, and a wreath. Any manager of the festival who provides more than these viands is fined by the censors, and what is more, neither are those who dine in the town hall permitted to bring in anything to eat, but they eat these foods alone, giving a share of what remains to

^c Cf. 185 c, note a

^d Cf. 109 f.

ΑΘΕΝΑEUS

150 οἰκέταις μεταδιδόντες. ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἡμέραις πάσαις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔξεστι τῶν σιτουμένων τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀνελθόντι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον δειπνεῖν, οἴκοθεν παρασκευάσαντα αὐτῷ λάχανόν τι ἢ τῶν δοσπρίων καὶ τάριχος ἢ ἵκθύν, κρέως δὲ χοιρέου βραχύτατον, καὶ τούτων μεταλαμβάνων . . .¹ κοτύλην οὖν. γυναικὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστιν εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἢ μόνη τῇ αὐλητρίδι. οὐκ εἰσφέρεται δὲ οὐδὲ ἀμίς εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον. ἐάν δέ τις Ναυκρατιτῶν γάμους ἔστιἄ, ὡς ἐν τῷ γαμικῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, ἀπείρηται ὡὰ καὶ μελίπηκτα **β δίδοσθαι**” τίς δὲ ἢ τούτων αἰτία Οὐλπιανὸς ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν δίκαιος.

Λυκέας² δ' ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς προκρίνων τὰ Αἰγυπτιακὰ δεῖπνα τῶν Περσικῶν “Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων, φησίν, ἐπὶ Ὁχον τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ νικηθέντων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αἰχμάλωτος ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεύς, ὁ Ὁχος αὐτὸν φιλανθρώπως ἄγων ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τῆς οὖν παρασκευῆς γενομένης λαμπρᾶς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος κατεγέλα ὡς εὐτελῶς τοῦ Πέρσου διαιτωμένου σ' εἰ δὲ θέλεις εἰδέναι, ἔφη, ὡς βασιλεῦ, πῶς δεῖ σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς εὐδαίμονας βασιλέας, ἐπίτρεψον τοῖς ἔμοις ποτε γενομένοις μαγείροις παρασκευάσαι σοι Αἰγύπτιον δεῖπνον.” καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐπεὶ παρεσκευάσθη, ἡσθεὶς ὁ Ὁχος τῷ δείπνῳ ‘κακὸν κακῶς σε, ἔφη, ὡς Αἰγύπτιε, ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί, δοτις δεῖπνα τοιαῦτα καταλιπὼν ἐπεθύμησας θούνης εὐτελεστέρας.’” τίνα δ' ἦν τὰ Αἰγύπτια δεῖπνα Πρωταγορίδης ἐν τῷ α' περὶ Δαφνικῶν

¹ Lacuna marked by Casaubon.

² Λυκέας Brunck, cf. Athen 560 e, 616 d λυγκεὺς ΑC.

the slaves. But on all other days of the year any diner who wishes may go up to the town-hall and eat, after preparing at home for his own use a green or leguminous vegetable, some salt-fish or fresh fish and a very small piece of pork ; sharing these . . . (he receives) a half-pint of wine. No woman may enter the town-hall except the flute-girl. Nor is it allowed to bring a chamber-pot into the town-hall either. If a Naucratite gives a wedding-banquet, it is forbidden, following the prescription of the marriage law, to serve eggs and honey-cakes " As for the origin of these practices, Ulpian is the right man to inform us !

Lyceas, in his *Egyptian History*, esteems the banquets of the Egyptians more highly than the Persian, and says . " The Egyptians undertook a campaign against Ochus, king of Persia, but were defeated . Their king was taken prisoner, but Ochus treated him kindly and even summoned him to dinner. But though the arrangements for the dinner were sumptuous, the Egyptian laughed at them, feeling that the Persian lived very frugally. ' If you would know, O King,' said he, ' how a rich king should eat, permit the cooks who were once mine to prepare for you an Egyptian dinner.' The order was given, and when the dinner had been prepared, Ochus was delighted with it, but said, ' May the gods, O Egyptian, bring you, evil man that you are, to an evil end, for you turned your back on such splendid dinners as these and conceived a desire for cheaper food.' " ^a What Egyptian dinners were like Protagorides shows in the first book of his *Games at*

^a The same story is told of the Spartan Pausanias, 138 c, from Herodotus, ix. 82.

ATHENAEUS

ἀγώνων διδάσκει ἡμᾶς λέγων οὕτως· “τρίτη δέ
d ἐστιν ἵδεα δείπνων Αἰγυπτιακὴ τραπεζῶν μὲν οὐ
παρατιθεμένων, πινάκων δὲ περιφερομένων.”

Παρὰ δὲ Γαλάταις φησὶ Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ ἔκτῃ
ἐπὶ¹ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἄρτους πολλοὺς κατακεκλα-
σμένους παρατίθεσθαι χύδην καὶ κρέατα ἐκ τῶν
λεβήτων, ὃν οὐδεὶς γενέται εἰ μὴ πρότερον θεά-
σηται τὸν βασιλέα εἰ ἥψατο τῶν παρακειμένων.
ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ ὁ αὐτὸς Φύλαρχος Ἀριάμνην φησὶ²
τὸν Γαλάτην πλουσιώτατον ὅντα ἐπαγγείλασθαι
ἔστιασαι Γαλάτας πάντας ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ τοῦτο
ε συντελέσαι ποιήσαντα οὕτως. κατὰ τόπους τῆς
χώρας³ τὰς ἐπικαιροτάτας τῶν ὅδῶν διέλαβε
σταθμοῖς ἐπί τε τούτοις ἐκ χαράκων καὶ τῶν
καλάμων τῶν τε οἰστίνων ἐπεβάλλετο σκηνὰς
χωρούσας ἀνὰ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας καὶ πλείους
ἔτι, καθὼς ἂν ἐκποιῶσιν οἱ τόποι τό τ' ἀπὸ τῶν
πόλεων δέξασθαι καὶ τῶν κωμῶν μέλλον ἐπιρρέεν
πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα δὲ λέβητας ἐπέστησε κρεῶν
παντοδαπῶν μεγάλους, οὓς πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ^f
τοῦ μέλλειν μεταπεμψάμενος τεχνίτας ἔξι ἄλλων
f πόλεων ἔχαλκεύσατο. θύματα δὲ καταβάλλεσθαι
ταύρων καὶ συῶν καὶ προβάτων τε καὶ τῶν³ λοιπῶν
κτηγῶν ἕκαστης ἡμέρας πολλά, πίθους τε οἴνου
παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ πλῆθος ἀλφίτων πεφυραμένων.
“καὶ οὐ μόνον, φησίν, οἱ παραγινόμενοι τῶν
Γαλατῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπ-
έλανον,⁴ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παριόντες ξένοι οὐπὸ τῶν
ἔφεστηκότων παίδων οὐκ ἡφίεντο ἔως ἂν μετα-
λάβωσι τῶν παρασκευασθέντων.”

¹ ἐπὶ Kaihel: ἐν AC.

² After χώρας A has καὶ, deleted by Kaihel.

Daphne,^a when he says : “ A third kind of dinner is the Egyptian, where no tables are placed beside the guests, but platters are carried round among them.”

Among the Celts, says Phylarchus in the sixth book,^b many loaves of bread are broken up and served lavishly on the tables, as well as pieces of meat taken from the cauldrons ; no one tastes these without looking first to see whether the king has touched what is set before him. Again, in Book iii.,^c the same Phylarchus says that Ariamnes, who was a very rich Celt, publicly promised to entertain all Celts for a year, and he fulfilled this promise by the following method. At various points in their country he set stations along the most convenient highways, where he erected booths of vine-props and poles of reed and osiers, each booth holding four hundred men and even more, according to the space demanded in each station for the reception of the crowds which were expected to stream in from towns and villages. Here he set up large cauldrons, containing all kinds of meat, which he had caused to be forged the year before he intended to give the entertainment, sending for metal-workers from other cities. Many victims were slaughtered daily—bulls, hogs, sheep, and other cattle—casks of wine were made ready, and a large quantity of barley-meal ready mixed. Phylarchus continues . “ Not merely the Celts who came from the villages and towns profited by this, but even passing strangers were not allowed to depart by the slaves who served, until they had had a share of the food which had been prepared.”

^a *F H G* iv. 484.

^b *Ibid* i. 336.

^c *Ibid.* 334.

² τῶν added by Meineke

⁴ ἀπέλανον Dindorf ἀπήλανον AC.

ATHENAEUS

Θρᾳκίων δὲ δεῖπνων μυημονεύει Ξενοφῶν ἐν
 ζ'¹ Ἀναβάσεως τὸ παρὰ Σεύθη διαιγράφων συμ-
 πόσιον ἐν τούτοις. “ ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ
 δεῖπνον πάντες (τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν καθημένοις
 κύκλῳ), ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰσηγέχθησαν πᾶσιν.
 οὗτοι δὲ ὅσον εἴκοσι κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων
 καὶ ἄρτοι ζύμητες μεγάλοι προσπεπερουημένοι
 ἦσαν πρὸς τοὺς κρέασι. μάλιστα δ'² αἱ² τράπεζαι
 κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἱὲ ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν.
 καὶ πρώτος τοῦτος ἐποίει Σεύθης· ἀνελόμενος τοὺς
 παρ' αὐτῷ κειμένους ἄρτους διέκλα κατὰ μικρὰ
 καὶ διερρίπτει οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καὶ τὰ κρέα
 ὥσαύτως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἔαυτῷ καταλιπών.
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίουν, καθ' οὓς
 καὶ αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκὰς δέ τις Ἀρύστας
 ὄνομα, φαγεῦν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἴα
 χαίρειν, λαβὼν δ' εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον
 ἄρτον καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐδείπνει.
 κέρατα δὲ οἵνου περιέφερον καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο.
 ὁ δὲ Ἀρύστας ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ
 οἰνοχόος ἦν, εἶπεν ἵδων τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκ ἔτι
 δειπνοῦντα· ‘ἔκεινω, ἔφη, δός· σχολάζει γὰρ ἡδή,
 ἔγω δ' οὔπω.’ ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ προύχώρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θρᾷξ
 ἵππον ἔχων λευκὸν καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν
 ‘προπίνω σοι, ὁ Σεύθη, ἔφη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον
 δωροῦμαι, ἔφ’ οὖ καὶ διώκων δὲν ἀν θέλῃς αἰρήσεις
 καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δείσῃς τὸν πολέμιον’
 ἄλλος παῖδα εἰσαγαγὼν οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο πρ-

¹ ζ' Schweighauser εξ ΑΕ.

² δ' αἱ Xenophon. δὲ Α

Thracian dinners are mentioned by Xenophon in the seventh book of the *Anabasis*,^a describing the symposium at the house of Seuthes in these words : " After all had entered to partake of the dinner (where they sat in a circle), three-legged tables were immediately brought in for all. These, to the number of about twenty, were covered with meat piled high, and large loaves of leavened bread were attached by skewers to the meat. Special care was taken always to set the courses opposite the strangers, for that was the custom. Seuthes was the first to do this. He would take the loaves lying in front of him, break them into small pieces, and toss them to whom he liked ; the meat likewise, leaving only enough to taste for himself. The others also before whom the tables were set followed his example. But an Arcadian named Arystas, a great eater, dispensed with the ceremony of the toss, and seizing in his hands a three-pound loaf and some meat, he placed them on his lap and proceeded to eat. They passed round drinking-horns containing wine, and all took them. But when the cup-bearer came to Arystas with the drinking-horn, he, seeing that Xenophon was no longer eating, said, ' Give it to him ; for he is not busy any longer, whereas I haven't got time yet.' Thereupon laughter arose. As the drinking proceeded a Thracian entered with a white horse, and grasping a full horn he said, ' Here's to you, Seuthes ; accept this horse as a present, for upon it, when you pursue, you will catch whomsoever you desire, and when you retreat, you will never be afraid of the enemy.' Another, in like manner, brought in and presented him with a slave as he

^a Chap. 3. 21.

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πίνων καὶ ἄλλος ἴμάτια τῇ γυναικί, καὶ Τιμασίων προπίνων φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ κοπίδα¹ ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. Γνήσιππος δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἴη νόμος κάλλιστος τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἔνεκα, τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀνέστη θαρσαλέως καὶ δεξάμενος τὸ κέρας εἶπεν· ‘ἐγώ σοι, ὁ Σεύθη, δίδωμι ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς τούτους ἑταίρους φίλους εἶναι πιστοὺς καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα. καὶ νῦν πάρεισν οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν βουλόμενοι’ καὶ ὁ Σεύθης ἀναστὰς συνέπιε² καὶ συγκατεσκεδάστο μετ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε οἷς σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὡμοβοείαις ρυθμούς τε καὶ οἰονεὶ μάγαδιν³ σαλπίζοντες.”

Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἰστορίαις αἰς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως ἃς προήρητο φιλοσοφίας πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔθιμα καὶ νόμιμα ἀναγράφων· “Κελτοί, φησί, τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται χόρτον ὑποβάλλοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἔντονται μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπηρμένων. ἡ τροφὴ δ’ ἐστὶν ἄρτοι μὲν ὀλίγοι, κρέα δὲ πολλὰ ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ὄπτα ἐπ’ ἀνθράκων ἢ ὀβελίσκων. προσφέρονται δὲ ταῦτα καθαρέσις μέν, λεοντωδῶς δέ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις αἴροντες ὅλα μέλη καὶ ἀποδάκνοντες, ἐὰν δὲ ἥ τι δυσαπόσπαστον,

¹ ταπίδα (“carpet”) Xenophon

² συνεξέπιε Xenophon.

³ μαγάδι Xenophon.

drank his health, and still another gave him garments for his wife Timasion, in proposing a toast to him, gave him a silver saucer and a scimitar ^a worth ten minae.^b Then an Athenian named Gnesippus arose and said that there was an excellent custom of long standing, that the rich should honour the king with presents, but to those who were not rich the king should give presents. But Xenophon got up with a resolute air, and as he took the drinking-horn he said ‘I give myself and my comrades here to you, Seuthes, to be your trusted friends, and not one of us comes unwillingly. And to-day they appear before you with no other request, but desire that they may labour and risk danger in your behalf.’ Then Seuthes arose and drank with Xenophon, and with him also emptied the horn upon the ground. After this there entered persons who played tunes on the horns used for signalling, and who sounded off measures, and as it were flageolet notes, on trumpets made of raw ox-hides.”

Poseidonius (he of the Porch ^c), in the *Histories* which he compiled, collected many usages and customs of many peoples germane to the philosophic tenets which he held; and he writes ^d “The Celts place hay on the ground when they serve their meals, which they take on wooden tables raised only slightly from the ground. Their food consists of a few loaves of bread, but of large quantities of meat prepared in water or roasted over coals or on spits. This they eat in a cleanly fashion, to be sure, but with a lion-like appetite, grasping whole joints with both hands and biting them off the bone; if, however, any piece proves hard to tear away,

^c i.e. the Stoic philosopher.

^d F H.G. iii. 260.

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μαχαιρίω μικρῷ παρατέμνοντες, ὁ τοῖς κολεοῖς
 152 ἐν ἴδιᾳ θήκῃ παράκειται. προσφέρονται δὲ καὶ
 ἵχθυς οἱ τε παρὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς οἰκοῦντες καὶ
 παρὰ τὴν ἐντὸς καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, καὶ τού-
 τους δὲ ὀπτοὺς μετὰ ἄλων καὶ ὅξονς καὶ κυμάνου
 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. ἐλαίω
 δ' οὐ χρῶνται διὰ σπάνιν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσύνηθες
 b ἀγδὲς αὐτοῖς φαίνεται. ὅταν δὲ πλείονες συν-
 δειπνῶσι, κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ, μέσος δὲ ὁ
 κράτιστος ὡς ἂν κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, διαφέρων τῶν
 ἄλλων ἥ κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν εὐχέρειαν ἥ κατὰ
 γένος ἥ κατὰ πλοῦτον. ὁ δὲ ὑποδεχόμενος παρ'
 αὐτόν, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἐκατέρωθε κατ' ἀξίαν ἥς ἔχουσιν
 ὑπεροχῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς θυρεοὺς¹ ὄπλοφοροῦντες
 ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω παρεστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι κατὰ
 τὴν ἀντικρὺ καθήμενοι κύκλῳ καθάπερ οἱ δεσπόται
 συνευωχοῦνται. τὸ δὲ ποτὸν οἱ διακονοῦντες ἐν
 ἀγγείοις περιφέρουσιν ἐοικόσι μὲν ἀμβίκοις, ἥ
 c κεραμέοις ἥ ἀργυροῖς· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πίνακας ἐφ'
 ὅν τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται τοιούτους ἔχουσιν·
 οἱ δὲ χαλκοῦς, οἱ δὲ κάνεα ἔχονται καὶ πλεκτά. τὸ
 δὲ πινόμενόν ἐστι παρὰ μὲν τοὺς πλουτοῦσιν οἶνος
 ἔξ 'Ιταλίας καὶ τῆς Μασσαλιητῶν χώρας παρα-
 κομιζόμενος, ἄκρατος δ' οὗτος ἐνίστε δὲ δλίγον
 ὕδωρ παραμίγνυται· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις
 ζύθος πύρινον μετὰ μέλιτος ἐσκευασμένον, παρὰ
 δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καθ' αὐτό· καλεῖται δὲ κόρμα.
 ἀπορροφοῦσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποτηρίου κατὰ
 d μικρόν, οὐ πλεῖστον κυάθου πυκνότερον δὲ τοῦτο
 ποιοῦσι. περιφέρει δὲ ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ

they slice it off with a small knife, which lies at hand in its sheath in a special box. Those who dwell beside rivers or by the inner and outer sea^a also eat fish baked with salt, vinegar, and cummin. The last they also drop into their wine. They use no olive oil, on account of its rarity, and being unfamiliar, it seems to them unpleasant. When several dine together, they sit in a circle; but the mightiest among them, distinguished above the others for skill in war, or family connexions, or wealth, sits in the middle, like a chorus-leader. Beside him is the host, and next on either side the others according to their respective ranks. Men-at-arms, carrying oblong shields, stand close behind them, while their bodyguards, seated in a circle directly opposite, share in the feast like their masters. The attendants serve the drink in vessels resembling our spouted cups, either of clay or silver. Similar also are the platters which they have for serving food; but others use bronze platters, others still, baskets of wood or plaited wicker. The liquor drunk in the houses of the rich is wine brought from Italy and the country round Marseilles, and is unmixed; though sometimes a little water is added. But among the needier inhabitants a beer is drunk made from wheat, with honey added; the masses drink it plain. It is called *corma*. They sip a little, not more than a small cupful, from the same cup, but they do it rather frequently. The slave carries the drink round from left to right and from right to

^a The Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

¹ θυραιούς A. • θυρεαφόροι C.

ATHENAEUS

τὰ λαιά· οὕτως διακονοῦνται. καὶ τὸν θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι.”

“Ετι ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγούμενος καὶ τὸν Λουερνίου τοῦ Βιτύιτος πατρὸς¹ πλοῦτον τοῦ ὑπὸ ‘Ρωμαίων καθαιρεθέντος, φησὶ δημαγωγοῦντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐν ἄρματι φέρεσθαι διὰ τῶν πεδίων καὶ διασπείρειν² χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ταῖς ἀκολουθούσαις τῶν Κελτῶν μυριάσι φράγμα τε ποιεῖν δωδεκαστάδιον τετράγωνον, ἐν ᾧ πληροῦν ε μὲν ληνοὺς πολυτελοῦς πόματος, παρασκευάζειν δὲ³ τοσοῦτο βρωμάτων πλῆθος ὥστε ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πλείονας ἔξειναι τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰσερχομένοις τῶν παρασκευασθέντων ἀπολαύειν, ἀδιαλείπτως διακονουμένους ἀφορίσαντος δ’ αὐτοῦ προθεσμίαν ποτὲ τῆς θοίνης ἀφυστερήσαντά τινα τῶν βαρβάρων ποιητὴν⁴ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ συναντήσαντα μετὰ ὡδῆς ὑμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ἕαυτὸν δ’ ἀποθρηνεῖν ὅτι ὑστέρηκε, τὸν δὲ τερφθέντα θυλάκιον ἀλτῆσαι χρυσίου καὶ ῥῖψαι αὐτῷ παρατρέχοντι. ἀνελόμενον δ’ ἐκεῖνον πάλιν ὑμεῖν λέγοντα διότι τὰ ἔχη τῆς γῆς ἐφ’ ἦσ αρματηλατεῖ χρυσὸν καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἀνθρώποις φέρει

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ἰστόρησεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ περὶ Πάρθων διηγούμενός φησιν· “ὅ δὲ καλούμενος φίλος τραπέζης μὲν οὐ κοινωνεῖ,
153 χαμαὶ δ’ ὑποκαθήμενος ἐφ’ ὑψηλῆς κλίνης κατακειμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ παραβληθὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ

¹ Βιτύιτος πατήρ Λουέριος Strabo p 191

² διασπείρων Strabo: σπείρειν AC.

³ δὲ Kaibel · τε AC.

⁴ For τῶν βαρβάρων ποιητὴν Kaibel conjectured τῶν βάρδων καλούμενων ποιητῶν, “the poets, who are called bards.”

^a The Greeks, however, drank toasts only from left to

left; ^a this is the way in which they are served. They make obeisance to the gods, also, turning towards the right."

Poseidonius again, describing the wealth of Lovernius,^b father of Bituis, who was deposed by the Romans, says that to win the favour of the mob he rode in a chariot through the fields scattering gold and silver among the myriads of Celts who followed him; he also made an enclosure twelve stades^c square, in which he set up vats filled with expensive wine, and prepared a quantity of food so great that for several days all who wished might enter and enjoy what was set before them, being served continuously. After he had finally set a limit to the feast, one of the native poets^d arrived too late; and meeting the chief, he sang his praises in a hymn extolling his greatness and lamenting his own lot in having come late. And the chief, delighted with this, called for a bag of gold and tossed it to the bard as he ran beside him. He picked it up and again sang in his honour, saying that the wheel-tracks made by the chariot on the ground on which he drove bore golden benefits for men.

All this Poseidonius recorded in the twenty-third book. But in the fifth book,^e in his account of the Parthians, he says "The subject who enjoys the title of 'king's friend' has no share at his board, but sits on the ground while the king reclines above him on a high couch; he eats dog-fashion what the right, and since καὶ or τε is wanting with ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, it is almost certain that καὶ οὐ τὰ λαβά, "and not from right to left," should be read in the text. The use of καὶ before τοὺς θεοὺς, instead of a contrasting conjunction, confirms this.

^b Or Loverius; see crit. note.

^d See crit. note.

^c About 1½ miles.

^e F.H.G. III 254.

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κυνιστὶ σιτεῖται καὶ πολλάκις διὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν ἀποσπασθεὶς τοῦ χαμαιπετοῦς δείπνου ράβδοις καὶ ἴμâσιν ἀστραγαλωτοῖς μαστιγοῦται καὶ γενόμενος αἱμόφυρτος τὸν τιμωρησάμενον ὡς εὐεργέτην ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος πρηνῆς προσπεσὼν προσκυνεῖ.” ἐν δὲ τῇ ις' περὶ Σελεύκου διηγούμενος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνελθῶν καὶ πολεμῶν Ἀρσάκει ἥχμαλωτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ ὡς πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῷ Ἀρσάκει διέτριψεν ἀγόμενος βασιλικῶς, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα. “παρὰ
b Πάρθοις ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τήν τε κλίνην ἐφ’ ἃς μόνος κατέκειτο μετεωροτέραν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ κεχωρισμένην εἶχε καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν μόνῳ καθάπερ ἥρωι πλήρῃ βαρβαρικῶν θοιναμάτων παρακειμένην.¹” Ἰστορῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἡρακλέωνος τοῦ Βεροιαίου, ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ Γρυποῦ καλούμενον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως προαχθεὶς μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέβαλε τὸν εὐεργέτην, γράφει ἐν τῇ λδ'² τῶν Ἰστοριῶν τάδε. “ἐποιεῖτο τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς κατακλίσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔδαφους ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἀνὰ χιλίους δειπνίζων τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν ἄρτος μέγας καὶ κρέας, τὸ δὲ ποτὸν κεκρα-
 c μένος οἶνος οἶος δήποτε ὕδατι ψυχρῷ. διηκόνουν δὲ ἄνδρες μαχαιροφόροι καὶ σιωπὴ ἦν εὔτακτος.” ἐν δὲ τῇ β' “ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων, φησίν, πόλει ὅταν εὐωχῶνται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερῷ, δειπνίζοντος τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν θριαμβεύοντος, καὶ ἡ παρασκευὴ τῆς εὐωχίας Ἡρακλεωτική ἐστι. δι-

¹ παρακειμένην Villebrun: παρακειμένων A.

² λδ' Bake μδ', “forty-fourth,” Muller δ' A.

king tosses to him, and often, on some slight pretext, he is dragged away from his lowly meal and flogged with staves or knotted straps until, covered with blood, he prostrates himself prone on the floor and does obeisance to his tormentor as to a benefactor." In the sixteenth book,^a again, he tells the story of King Seleucus; how that he went up into Media and made war on Arsaces, but was taken prisoner by the barbarian and lived a long time at the court of Arsaces, being treated in royal fashion. Poseidonius writes: "Among the Parthians, the king at their banquets occupied a couch on which he reclined alone; it was separated from the other couches and somewhat higher than they; his table was set before him apart, as to a departed spirit, and was laden with native dishes." Writing also about Heracleon of Beroea, the same who after being promoted by King Antiochus, surnamed Grypus, almost ejected his benefactor from his kingdom, he says, in the thirty-fourth book of his *Histories*^b: "When he feasted his soldiers he caused them, in groups of a thousand, to recline on the ground in the open air. The dinner consisted of a huge loaf and meat, the drink being any kind of wine mixed with cold water. They were served by men wearing daggers, and in strict silence." In the second book^c he says: "In the Roman capital, whenever they hold a feast in the precinct of Hercules, it is given by the general who for the time being is celebrating a triumph, and the preparation for the banquet is worthy of Hercules^d himself. For

^a F.H.G. iii. 258.^b Ibid. 265.^c Ibid. 252.^d With a punning reference to the town of Heracleia, of which Poseidonius was a native.

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οινοχοεῖται μὲν γὰρ οἰνόμελι, τὰ δὲ βρώματα ἄρτοι μεγάλοι καὶ καπνιστὰ κρέα ἔφθα¹ καὶ τῶν προσφάτως καθιερευθέντων² ὅπτὰ δαψιλῆ. παρὰ δὲ Τυρρηνοῦς δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζονται ἀνθιναί τε στρωμναὶ καὶ ἐκπώματα ἄργυρά παντοδαπά, καὶ δούλων πλῆθος εὐπρεπῶν παρέστηκεν ἐσθήσεσι πολυτελέσι κεκομημένων ” Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἴστοριῶν καὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας φησὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς μέχρι οὐδὲν αὐξῆθωσι γυμνὰς διακονεῖσθαι

Μεγασθένης δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς φησιν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ παρατίθεσθαι ἑκάστῳ τράπεζαν, ταύτην δ' εἶναι δόμοίαν ταῖς εἴγγυθήκαις, καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῇ τρυβλίον χρυσοῦν, εἰς δὲ ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ὅρυζαν ἔφθην ὡς ἂν τις ἐψήσειε χόνδρον, ἔπειτα δύψα πολλὰ κεχειρουργημένα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς σκευασίαις. Γέρμανοὶ δέ, ὡς ἴστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ, ἄριστον προσφέρονται κρέα μεληδὸν ὡπτημένα καὶ ἐπιπίνουσι γάλα καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἀκρατον. Καμπανῶν δέ τινες παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια μονομαχοῦσι. Νικόλαος δ' ὁ Δαμασκηνός, εἰς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων, ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν τῶν ἴστοριῶν Ῥωμαίους ἴστορεῖ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον συμβάλλειν μονομαχίας, γράφων οὕτως· “ τὰς τῶν μονομάχων θέας οὐ μόνον ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεάτροις ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν³ παραλαβόντες τὸ ἔθος, ἀλλὰ καν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσιν. ἐκάλουν γοῦν τινες πολλάκις ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τοὺς

¹ λρέα ἔφθα Wilamowitz. ἔφθα κρέα AC.

² καθιερευθέντων Wilam. καθιερωθέντων “consecrated” A.

³ Τυρρηνῶν Musurus τυράννων A

honeyed wine flowed copiously throughout the entire meal, and the food consisted of large loaves and boiled smoked meat, as well as roast meat from the freshly sacrificed victims, in extravagant plenty. And among the Etruscans sumptuous tables are prepared twice a day, and richly coloured rugs are spread, and there are silver cups of every kind, and a host of handsome slaves stands by, dressed in rich garments." Timaeus, moreover, in the first book of his *Histories*,^a adds that the slave girls among them serve naked until they grow to be adults

Megasthenes, in the second book of his *History of India*,^b says that among the Indians a table is set before each one at dinner. It resembles a side-board, and on it is placed a golden bowl into which they first pour their rice, boiled as one would boil groats, and they then add many sauces of meat which have been treated with Indian condiments.^c But the Germans, as Poseidonius narrates in the thirtieth book,^d eat for luncheon meat which has been roasted in separate pieces, and they wash it down with milk or wine that is unmixed. Some inhabitants of Campania fight duels during their symposia. And Nicolas of Damascus, a Peripatetic philosopher, in the 110th book of his *Histories*,^e records that the Romans have gladiatorial fights during a banquet. He writes as follows: "The Romans staged spectacles of fighting gladiators not merely at their festivals and in their theatres, borrowing the custom from the Etruscans, but also at their banquets. At any rate, it often happened that some would invite their friends to dinner, not merely for other

^a F.H.G. I. 196.

^b Ibid. II. 423.

^c Making a "pilaf"

^d F.H.G. III. 264. ^e Ibid 417.

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φίλους ἐπί τε ἄλλοις καὶ ὅπως ἂν δύο ἢ τρία ζεύγη
ἴδοιεν μονομάχων, ὅτε καὶ κορεσθέντες δείπνου καὶ
μέθης εἰσεκάλουν τοὺς μονομάχους καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄμα
ἐσφάττετο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκρότουν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡδόμενοι.

154 ἦδη δέ τις κάν ταῖς διαθήκαις γέγραφεν γυναικας
εὐπρεπεστάτας μονομαχῆσαι ἀς ἐκέκτητο, ἔτερος
δὲ παῖδας ἀνήβους ἐρωμένους ἕαυτοῦ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ
οὐκ¹ ἡνέσχετο ὁ δῆμος τὴν παρανομίαν ταύτην, ἀλλ'
ἄκυρον τὴν διαθήκην ἐποίησεν.² Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ
ἐν πρώτῳ Ολυμπιονικῶν τοὺς Τυρρηνούς φησι πρὸς
αὐλὸν πυκτεύειν.

³Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ἐν τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἴστο-
ριῶν· “Κελτοί, φησίν, ἐνίοτε παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον
μονομαχοῦσιν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγερθέντες³
σκιαμαχοῦσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκροχειρίζονται,
b ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τραύματος προίασιν καὶ ἐκ
τούτου ἐρεθισθέντες, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπισχῶσιν οἱ παρόντες,
καὶ ἔως ἀναιρέσεως ἔρχονται. τὸ δὲ παλαιόν,
φησίν, ὅτι παρατεθέντων κωλήνων τὸ μηρίον ὁ
κράτιστος ἐλάμβανεν· εἰ δέ τις ἔτερος ἀντιποιή-
σαιτο, συνίσταντο μονομαχήσοντες μέχρι θανάτου.
ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον,
c οἱ δὲ οἴνου κεραμίων ἀριθμὸν τινα, καὶ πιστω-
σάμενοι τὴν δόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις φίλοις δια-
δωρησάμενοι ὑπτιοι ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεῖνται,
καὶ παραστάς τις ξίφει τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποκόπτει.”

¹ The proper order of these words, in the only sense possible here, is ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ, which the translation renders

² Here A has, in capitals, τῶν εἰς Λ τέλος τοῦ Ζ ἀρ τοῦ Η
But Η (Book viii.) probably began at 153 f.

³ ἀγερθέντες Schweighauser : ἐγερθέντες Α.

entertainment, but that they might witness two or three pairs of contestants in gladiatorial combat ; on these occasions, when sated with dining and drink, they called in the gladiators. No sooner did one have his throat cut than the masters applauded with delight at this feat. And there have even been instances when a man has provided in his will that his most beautiful wives, acquired by purchase, should engage in duels ; still another has directed that young boys, his favourites, should do the same. But the provision was in fact disregarded, for the people would not tolerate this outrage, but declared the will void." Eratosthenes, in the first book of his *Olympic Victors*,^a says that the Etruscans accompany their boxing-matches with the flute.

In the twenty-third book of his *Histories*,^b Poseidonius says : "The Celts sometimes have gladiatorial contests during dinner. Having assembled under arms, they indulge in sham fights and practise feints with one another, sometimes they proceed even to the point of wounding each other, and then, exasperated by this, if the company does not intervene, they go so far as to kill. In ancient times, he continues, we observe that when whole joints of meat were served the best man received the thigh. But if another claimed it, they stood up to fight it out in single combat to the death. Others, again, would collect silver or gold, or a number of jars of wine from the audience in the theatre, and having exacted a pledge that their award would be carried out, they would decree that the collection be distributed as presents to their dearest relatives ; they then stretched themselves on their backs over their shields, and some one standing near would cut

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Εύφορίων δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτω γράφει· “παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις προτίθεσθαι πέντε μνᾶς τοῖς ὑπομένειν βουλομένοις τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι πελέκει, ὥστε τοὺς κληρονόμους κομίσασθαι τὸ ἀθλον· καὶ πολλάκις ἀπογραφομένους πλείους δικαιολογεῖσθαι καθ' ὃ δικαιότατός ἔστιν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι.”

d "Ἐρμιππος δ' ἐν α' περὶ νομοθετῶν τῶν μονομαχούντων εὑρετὰς ἀποφαίνει Μαντινεῖς Δημώνακτος ἐνὸς τῶν πολιτῶν συμβουλεύσαντος, καὶ ζηλωτὰς τούτων γενέσθαι Κυρηναίους. "Ἐφορος δ' ἐν ἕκτῃ ἱστοριῶν “ἢσκουν, φησί, τὰ πολεμικὰ οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἀρκάδες, τὴν τε στολὴν τὴν πολεμικὴν καὶ τὴν ὅπλισιν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὡς εὑρόντων ἔκείνων ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μαντινικὴν ἀποκαλοῦσι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὅπλομαχίας μαθήσεις ἐν Μαντινείᾳ πρῶτον οἱ εὐρέθησαν Δημέου τὸ τέχνημα καταδείξαντος.” ὅτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἦν τὸ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης εἴρηκεν ἐν Φοινίσσαις οὕτως.

ἐσ Οἰδίπου δὲ παῖδε,¹ διπτύχω κόρω,
"Αρης κατέσκηψ", ἐσ τε² μονομάχου πάλης
ἀγώνα νῦν ἐστάσιν.

ἔοικεν δὲ πεποιῆσθαι τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μάχη, ἀλλ' ἐκ ὅρματος τοῦ μάχεσθαι μᾶλλον συγκεῖσθαι. ὅπότε γὰρ τὸ μάχη συντιθέμενον τὸ τέλος εἰς ὅς³ τρέπει, ὡς ἐν τῷ σύμμαχος, πρωτόμαχος, ἐπίμαχος, τὸ ἀντίμαχος, “φιλόμαχον γένος ἐκ Περσέος⁴” παρὰ

¹ δὲ παῖδε Heringa δετταιδε A.

² κατέσκηψ, ἐσ τε Porson. κατέσκηψέ τε A.

³ εἰς ὅς Coraes ἵσως A. ⁴ Περσέος Boeckh περσέως A.

^a Frag. 23 Müller. ^b F.H.G. m. 36. ^c Ibid 1. 261
^a Kock 1 533. ^e πάλη, lit. “wrestling.”

their throats with a sword." Euphorion of Chalcis, in his *Historical Notes*,^a writes as follows : " Among the Romans twenty pounds are offered to any who will brave decapitation with an axe, on condition that their heirs receive the prize. And often, when too many are enrolled, they dispute which of them has the best right in each case to have his head cut off."

Hermippus, in Book 1. of his work *On Langivers*,^b declares that the Mantineans were inventors of gladiatorial combats, having been counselled thereto by Demonax, one of their citizens ; and the Cyrenaean became imitators of them. And Ephorus says, in the sixth book of his *Histories* ^c : " The Mantineans and Arcadians used to practise the arts of war diligently, and, as a consequence, to this very day people call the ancient military uniform and mode of arming ' Mantinean,' since it is believed that the Mantineans are the inventors. In addition, regular courses of instruction in fighting under arms were first instituted at Mantinea, Demeas being the instructor in the art." And that the custom of single combat was ancient is told by Aristophanes in the *Phoenician Women* ^d in these words . " Warlike fury has swooped upon the sons of Oedipus, brothers twain, and at this moment they stand ready for the match in single combat." ^e It is plain that the noun *monomáchos* (" single fighter ") is compounded not from *machē* (" battle ") but from the verb *machomai* (" fight ") For whenever a word compounded with *machē* ends in -os, as in *sýmmachos* (" ally "), *protómachos* (" champion "), *epímachos* (" open to attack "), *antimachos* (" fighting against ") or *philómachos* (" fight-loving ")—Pindar^f has " the fight-loving race sprung

^f P L.G. ^g frag. 164.

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Πινδάρω, τηνικαῦτα προπαροξύνεται· ὅπότε δὲ παροξύνεται, τὸ μάχεσθαι ρῆμα περιέχει, ὡς ἐν τῷ πυγμάχος, ναυμάχος, “αὐτόν σε Πυλαμάχε πρῶτον” παρὰ Στησιχόρῳ, ὄπλομάχος, τειχομάχος, πυργομάχος.

ὅ δὲ κωμῳδιοποιὸς Ποσείδιππος ἐν Πορνοβοσκῷ φησιν·

δ μὴ πεπλευκὼς οὐδὲν ἔόρακεν κακόν·
155 τῶν μονομαχούντων ἐσμὲν ἀθλιώτεροι.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐμονομάχουν καὶ ἐκ προκλήσεως τοῦτ’ ἐποίουν ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήκαμεν. Δίνιλλος¹ δ’ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς Κάσανδρος ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐπανιών καὶ θάψας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν ἐν Αἰγαίαις² καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τὴν Κύνναν τὴν Εὐρυδίκης μητέρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιμήσας οἷς προσήκει καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνα³ ἔθηκεν, εἰς δὲν κατέβησαν τέσσαρες τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

Δημήτριος δ’ ὁ Σκῆψιος ἐν τῷ *ιε'* τοῦ Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου “παρὰ Ἀντιόχῳ, φησί, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ προσαγορευθέντι ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ πρὸς ὅπλα ὡρχοῦντο οὐ μόνον οἱ βασιλέως φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἡγησάνακτα τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τὸν τὰς

¹ Δίνιλλος Casaubon: διώαλος A.

² Αἰγαίαις AC: Αἴγαιᾶς Diod. xix. 52. 5.

³ ἀγῶνα Musurus: ἀγῶνας A.

^a P.L.G.⁵ frag. 48. The word here cited is an epithet of Ares.

^b Kock iii 341.

^c Possibly in the lost parts of Book I.

^d As in the *Iliad*.

from Perseus"—in such instances it has the acute accent on the third syllable from the last ; but when the compound takes the accent on the syllable next before the last, it contains the verb *machomai*, as in *pygmáchos* ("fist-fighter"), *naumáchos* ("sea-fighter") " Thyself first, thou Fighter at the gate" (*pylámáchos*), is found in Stesichorus.^a There are also *hoplomáchos* ("fighting under arms"), *teichomáchos* ("fighting at the wall"), and *pyrgomáchos* ("fighting at the tower").

The comic poet Poseidippus says in *The Pimp*^b : " He that has never been to sea has never seen trouble at all ; we sailors are more to be pitied than gladiators." We have explained in another passage^c also that prominent men and military leaders used to fight in single combat and that they did this in answer to a challenge^d. And Diyllus of Athens, in the ninth book of his *Histories*,^e says that when Cassander returned from Boeotia and held the funeral of the king and queen at Aegaeae, as well as of Cynna, the mother of Eurydice, he not only honoured them with all the other fitting rites, but set up also a contest of single fighters which was entered by four of his soldiers.

Demetrius of Skepsis, in Book xv. of *The Trojan Battle-order*,^f says . " At the court of Antiochus, surnamed the Great, it was the habit not merely of the king's friends but also of the king himself to dance under arms at dinner. But when it became the turn of Hegesianax to dance—the historian from

^a F.H.G. II. 361 ; the occasion was the state funeral of Arridaeus and Eurydice, murdered by order of Olympias, 317 b.c. Cynna had been assassinated by Alcetas. All three were buried in the royal tombs at Aegae.

^b Frag. 7 Gaede.

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ίστορίας γράψαντα ἡ τῆς ὁρχήσεως τάξις ἐγένετο,
 ἀναστὰς εἶπε ‘πότερον, ὡς βασιλεῦ, κακῶς ὁρχού-
 μενον ἔμε τεθεάσασθαι βούλει ἢ καλῶς ἀπαγγέλ-
 λοντός μου ίδια ποιήματα θέλεις ἀκροάσασθαι,’
 κελευσθεὶς οὖν λέγειν οὕτως ἥσε τὸν βασιλέα ὡστ’
 ἐράνου τε ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς γενέσθαι”
ε Δοῦρις δ’ ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἴστοριῶν ιζ’ Πολυ-
 σπέρχοντά φησιν εἰ μεθυσθείη καίτοι πρεσβύτερον
 ὄντα ὁρχεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν δὲ Μακεδόνων ὄντα δεύτερον
 οὔτε κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν,
 καὶ ἐνδυόμενον αὐτὸν κροκωτὸν καὶ ὑποδούμενον
 Σικυώνια διατελεῖν ὁρχούμενον Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ’
 ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν ὅγδοῃ Ἀσιατικῶν ἴστορειν ὡς οἱ
 ἐστιῶντες Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τῶν φίλων τὸ
 μέλλον παρατεθήσεσθαι τῶν τραγημάτων περι-
 εχρύσουν· ὅτε δὲ θέλοιεν ἀναλίσκειν, περιελόντες
 τὸν χρυσὸν ἄμα τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξεβαλλον, ἵνα τῆς μὲν
 πολυτελείας οἱ φίλοι θεαταὶ γίνωνται, οἱ δὲ οἰκέται
 κύριοι. ἐπιλελησμένοι δ’ ἥσαν οὗτοι, ὡς καὶ
 Δοῦρις ἴστορειν, ὅτι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάν-
 δρου πατὴρ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν δλκὴν ἄγον πεντή-
 κοντα δραχμὰς κεκτημένος τοῦτο ἐλάμβανε κοιμώ-
 μενος ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κατετίθετο.
ε Σέλευκος δὲ Θρακῶν φησί τινας ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις
 ἀγχόνην παίζειν βρόχον ἀρτήσαντας ἐκ τινος ὕψους,¹
 πρὸς δὲν κατὰ κάθετον ὑποτίθεσθαι² λίθον εὑπερί-
 τρεπτον τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσι. διαλαγχάνειν οὖν αὐτοὺς

¹ After ὕψους AC add στρογγύλον, del. by Kaibel.

² ὑποτίθεσθαι Meineke • προστίθεσθαι AC.

Alexandria in the Troad—he arose and said : ‘ In my case, O King, would you rather see me dance badly, or would you like to hear me recite well my own works ? ’ Commanded, therefore, to recite, he so delighted the king that he was promoted to a pension and became one of the king’s favourites.” Duris of Samos, in the seventeenth book of his *Histories*,^a says of Polysperchon that whenever he was elated by wine he would dance, even though he was rather old and second to none among the Macedonians either in military achievement or in general esteem ; he danced continually, clad in a saffron tunic and wearing on his feet Sicyonian slippers. Agatharchides of Cnidus, in the eighth book of his *Asiatic History*^b records that whenever the friends of Alexander, son of Philip, entertained him at dinner, they encased everything that was to be served as dessert^c in gold ; and when they desired to eat the dessert, they tore off the gold with the rest of the waste and threw it away, that their friends might be spectators of their extravagance, while their slaves enjoyed the profit. But these gentry had forgotten, what Duris also records,^d that Philip, Alexander’s father, possessed a gold cup weighing fifty drachms, and that he always took it to bed with him and placed it at his head. Seleucus says^e that some Thracians make a sport of hanging at their drinking-bouts ; they attach a noose at a certain height, directly under which they place a stone which may be easily rolled by any who step upon it.

^a Such as nuts, figs, raisins, of which the shells and stones were thrown on the floor

^b F.H.G. ii. 470 ; cf. Athen. 231 b. Macedonia possessed little gold in Philip’s time.

^c F.H.G. iii. 500.

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καὶ τὸν λαχόντα ἔχοντα δρεπάνιον ἐπιβαίνεων τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τὸν βρόχον ἐντιθέναι· παρερχόμενον δὲ ἄλλον ἐγείρειν τὸν λίθον· καὶ ὁ κρεμάμενος ὑποτρέχοντος¹ τοῦ λίθου, ἐὰν μὴ ταχὺ φθάσας ἀποτέμῃ τῷ δρεπάνῳ, τέθνηκε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι γελῶσι παιδιὰν ἔχοντες τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον.” *ἴ ταῦτ’ εὐπεῖν εἶχον, ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ συμπόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πρώτοι, περὶ ἀρχαίων συμποσίων ἐπιστάμενος.*

‘Ακριβῶς δ’ ὁ σοφὸς Πλάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Νόμῳ περὶ συμποσίων διηγεῖται λέγων οὕτως· “καὶ οὗτ’ ἂν ἐπ’ ἀγρῶν ιδοις οὗτ’ ἐν ἀστεσιν ὅσων Σπαρτιάταις μέλει συμπόσια οὐδ’ ὅπόσα τούτοις ξυνεπόμενα πάσας ἥδονὰς κινεῖ κατὰ 156 δύναμιν. οὐδ’ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ἀπαντῶν κωμάζοντί τινι μετὰ μέθης οὐκ ἂν τὴν μεγίστην δίκην εὐθὺς ἐπιθείη καὶ οὐδ’ ἂν Διονύσια πρόφασιν ἔχοντ’ αὐτὸν ρύσαιτο, ὡσπερ ἐν ἀμάξαις εἶδον παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀπούκοις πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐθεασάμην περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν. ἐν Λακεδαίμονι οὐκ ἔστ’ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον.’’

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος “ἄλλ’ ὡς ὥφελον, ἔφη, τὴν Θράκιον ταύτην παιίξας παιδιὰν διεφθάρης ἀνέτεινες² γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὡσπερ νηστείαν ἄγοντας καὶ β περιμένοντας τὸ ἀνατέλλον ἀστρον, οὐδὲ φασι μὴ

¹ ὑποτρέχοντος Coraes: ἐπιτρέχοντος AC

² διεφθάρης ἀνέτεινες Schweighauser: διεφθάρησαν ετινες A.

^a Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 254, *Lysistr.* 1110.
^b 637 A. A Spartan is addressing an Athenian.

They then draw lots, and the one who receives the lot mounts the stone, holding a pruning-knife, and places his neck in the noose ; another comes by and pushes the stone ; and while it is rolling from under him, the man hanging there, if he does not quickly cut himself loose with the knife before it is too late, is dead, and the others laugh, holding the poor devil's death a great joke " This, friends and fellow-drinkers, " easily first among the Greeks,"^a I have been able to tell from my knowledge of ancient symposia.

The wise Plato, in the first book of the *Laws*,^b accurately describes symposia in these words : " Neither in the country nor in the towns under Spartan jurisdiction would you see symposia, nor would you see the things which accompany them and which excite all manner of licentious pleasures to the full extent of their power. Nor is there one among us who, if he met a man indulging in drunken merriment, would not immediately lay the heaviest punishment upon him ; and not even the festival of Dionysus would afford an excuse to protect him, as I have seen it do in your country among the carts,^c and also in Tarentum, among our own colonists, where I have seen the whole town drunk during the festival of Dionysus In Lacedaemon there is nothing of that sort "

Whereupon Cynulus said . " I can only wish that you had played that Thracian game and come to your death ; for you have been stretching our patience, and we are like persons who keep a fast and wait for that rising star which, as those say who

^a Referring to the " jokes from the cart " in the processions of Dionysus and Demeter.

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φανέντος οἱ τὴν χρηστὴν ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν
εὑρόντες νόμιμον εἶναι μηδενὸς γεύεσθαι. “ ἐγὼ
δ’ ὁ τάλας ” κατὰ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιὸν Δίφιλον.

κεστρεὺς ἀν εἴην ἔνεκα νηστείας ἄκρας.

ἐπελάθεσθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τῶν τοῦ ποιητοῦ καλῶν,
ὅς ἔφη.

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι χέρειον ἐν ὥρῃ δεῖπνον ἐλέσθαι.^a

καὶ ὁ καλὸς δ’ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Κωκάλῳ ἔφη·

ἀλλ’ ἐστίν, ὡς πάτερ, κομιδῇ μεσημβρίᾳ,
c ἥνικα γε τοὺς νεωτέρους δειπνεῦν χρεών.

ἔμοι τε πολλῷ ἦν ἅμεινον κατὰ τὸ Παρμενίσκου
τῶν κυνικῶν συμπόσιον δειπνεῦν ἢ ἐνθάδε πάντα
ῶσπερ τοὺς πυρέσσοντας περιφερόμενα ὅρᾶν.”
γελασάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη τις. “ ἀλλ’ ὡς λῶστε
ἄνδρῶν, μὴ φθονήσῃς ἡμῖν τὸ Παρμενίσκειον
ἐκεῖνο διελθεῖν συμπόσιον.” καὶ ὃς μετέωρον
αὐτὸν παραναστήσας ἔφη. “ ὅμνυμι δ’ ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες,
κατὰ τὸν ἡδὺν Ἀντιφάνη, ὃς ἐν τῇ Παρεκδιδομένῃ
ἔφη.

d ὅμνυμι δ’ ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν,
ἔξ οὖ τὸ μεθύειν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν γίνεται,
ἡ μὴν ἐλέσθαι τοῦτον ἀν ζῆν τὸν βίον
ἡ τὴν Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεροχήν.
ροφεῖν φακῆν ἐσθ’ ἡδὺ μὴ δεδοικότα,
μαλακῶς καθεύδειν ἄθλιον δεδοικότα
ἀλλ’ ὁ γε Παρμενίσκος οὕτως ὑπῆρξατο. “ Παρ-

^a It is commonly thought that Athenaeus has confused Jewish with Christian rites here, and χρηστὴν is regarded as an allusion to χριστιανήν. But such a confusion was impossible in the third century, and other sects, e.g. the Neo-

have founded this noble philosophy, must first appear before it is lawful to taste any food.^a ‘But I, wretch that I am,’ as the comic poet Diphilus says,^b ‘shall be an empty-bellied mullet through this extreme fasting.’ And you also have forgotten the fine words of the Poet, who has said^c. ‘Surely ’tis better to take our repast in season.’ And the noble Aristophanes, in *Cocalus*, said^d: ‘But, Daddy, it is high noon already, the time when youngsters should have dinner.’ And so, in my opinion, it would be much better to dine in the fashion described by Parmeniscus, in *The Cynics’ Symposium*, than to see as in a fever all these dishes going round here.”^e We laughed, and someone said: “Well, my fine fellow, don’t begrudge us the account of that symposium by Parmeniscus.” So he raised himself up high beside us, and said: “‘I swear to you, gentlemen,’ to quote the pleasant Antiphanes. He has said, in *Wrongly Wed*^f: ‘I swear to you, gentlemen, by that very god from whose bounty we all get drunk, that verily I should rather choose to live this life than have the superfluity of King Seleucus. It is sweet to sop up lentil soup without fear, it is miserable to sleep on a soft bed in fear.’ Well then, Parmeniscus began his recital thus.^g ‘Parmeniscus

Pythagoreans, may have observed a fast until the evening-star appeared.

^a Kock ii. 558; cf. 307 f. The reference is to the kind of mullet called the “faster.”

^b Od. xvii. 176.

^d Kock i. 484.

^c Without being eaten; “going round” has a double meaning, referring both to vertigo and to the circulation of the dishes at dinner.

^f Kock ii. 88; cf. T.G.F.^a 900.

^g That Parmeniscus used stilted language to the verge of nonsense is all that we know of him.

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μενίσκος Μόλπιδι χαίρειν. πλεονάζων ἐν ταῖς προσφωνήσεσι πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν κλήσεων ἀγωνιῶ μή ποτε εἰς πληθώραν ἐμπεσῶν μεμψιμοιρήσης. διὸ καὶ μεταδοῦναι σοι βούλομαι ε τοῦ παρὰ Κέβητι τῷ Κυζικηνῷ δείπνου· προπώλην δ' ὑσώπου τὴν ὥραν¹ ἐπάναγε ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν. Διονυσίων γάρ διητῶν Ἀθήνησι παρελήφθην πρὸς αὐτό.² κατέλαβον δὲ κυνικοὺς μὲν ἀνακειμένους ἔξ, ἔνα δὲ κύνουλκον Καρνεῖον τὸν Μεγαρικόν. τοῦ δείπνου δὲ χρονίζοντος λόγος ἐγένετο ποῦν τῶν ὑδάτων ἥδιστον ἐστιν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐγκωμιαζόντων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρνης, ἄλλων δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης, ὁ Καρνεῖος κατὰ Φιλόξενον εἶπε ‘τὸ κατὰ χειρῶν.’ καὶ τῆς τραπέζης παρατεθείσης ἐδειπνοῦμεν “καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔξηντλοῦμεν φακῆν, φὴ δ’ ἐπεισέρρει.” εἴτα πάλιν φακοὶ προσημέχθησαν ὅξει βεβρεγμένοι, καὶ ὁ Διυτρέφης δραξάμενος ἔφη.

Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ’ ὃς αἴτιος φακῶν
καὶ ἄλλος ἔξῆς ἀνεβόησε·

φακός σε δαίμων καὶ φακὴ τύχη λάβοι.

(ἔμοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Δίφιλον, φησὶν δ’ οὗτος ἐν Πελιάσι.

¹ ὥραν Kaihel: ὥραν A.

² αὐτό (sc δείπνον) Meyer: αὐτόν AC.

^a πληθώραν, “fullness,” a medical word, hence the injunction in the next line.

^b κύνουλκον, “dog-leader,” the Cynics being “dogs.”
Athen 1 d

^c P L.G.⁴ m. 605, Athen 147 c (?).

to Molpis, greeting: Since I have been very frequent in my addresses to you on the subject of the distinguished banquets to which I have been invited, I am in great apprehension lest you may at last be attacked with indigestion^a and lay the blame of your over-indulgence on me. Wherefore I wish to impart to you some of the dinner held at the house of Cebes of Cyzicus; so first drink some hyssop and direct your regard toward this entertainment. It was during the festival of Dionysus at Athens that I was invited to it. There I found a half dozen Cynics reclining, and one "master of the hounds,"^b Carneius of Megara. The dinner being slow in coming, a discussion arose concerning water—which was the sweetest? Some praised the water of Lerna, others, again, the water of Peirene; but Carneius, quoting Philoxenus,^c said "The water which is poured over the hands."^d When the table was set beside us we began dinner, and "no sooner did we exhaust one lentil soup than in flowed another after"^e Then lentils again, soaked in vinegar were brought to us, and Dutrephe clutched a handful and said: "Zeus, let not him who is to blame for these beans escape thy vengeance!"^f And another thereupon cried out: "May a baneful destiny and a baneful fate seize thee"^g (In my eyes,^h to quote the comedian Diphilus, who says, in *Daughters of Pelias*ⁱ 'The little dinner

^a After a good dinner!

^b T G.F.² 856; a proverb (omitting φαλῆν) of the Danaids, condemned to fill a leaky cask (φιδάκνην).

^c A parody of Euripides, *Medea* 332, where κακῶν, "banes," stands in place of φακῶν, "beans."

^d T.G.F.² 857, where again κακός for φακός

^e Cynuleus here interrupts his own narrative.

^f Kock ii 562.

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τὸ δειπνάριον ἀνθηρὸν ἦν, γλαφυρὸν σφόδρα·
φακῆς κατ' ἀνδρα τρυβλίον μεστὸν μέγα.
157 B. πρώτιστον οὐκ ἀνθηρόν. A. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φέρων
εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπεχόρευσε σαπέρδης μέγας
ὑπό τι δυσώδης. B. οὗτος ἴερὸς ἀνθίας,¹
ὅς πολλὰ χαίρειν² ταῖς κίχλαις ἥδη λέγει.)

γέλωτος οὖν ἐπιρραγέντος παρῆν ἡ θεατροτορύνη
Μέλισσα καὶ ἡ κυνάμυνα Νίκιον· αὗται δ' ἥσαν
τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἔταιρίδων. ἀποβλέψασαι οὖν
αὗται εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα καὶ θαυμάσασαι ἐγέλων.
b καὶ ἡ Νίκιον ἔφη· ‘οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν, ἀνδρες γενειο-
συλλεκτάδαι, ἵχθὺν ἐσθίει; ἢ καθάπερ ὁ πρόγονος
ὑμῶν Μελέαγρος ὁ Γαδαρεὺς ἐν ταῖς Χάρισιν
ἐπιγραφομέναις ἔφη τὸν Ὀμηρον Σύρον ὅντα τὸ
γένος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἵχθύων ἀπεχομένους ποιῆσαι
τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς³ δαψιλείας πολλῆς οὔσης κατὰ τὸν
Ἐλλήσποντον, ἢ μόνον ἀνέγνωτε συγγραμμάτων
αὐτοῦ τὸ περιέχον λεκίθου καὶ φακῆς σύγκρισιν,
ὅρῳ γάρ πολλὴν παρ’ ὑμῖν τῆς φακῆς τὴν σκευήν
εἰς ἦν ἀποβλέπουσα συμβουλεύσταιμ’ ἄν ὑμῖν
κατὰ τὸν Σωκρατικὸν Ἀντισθένην ἐξάγειν ἔαυτοὺς
c τοῦ βίου τοιαῦτα σιτουμένους.’ πρὸς ἦν ὁ
Καρνεῖος ἔφη· ‘Εὐξίθεος ὁ Πυθαγορικός, ὁ
Νίκιον, ὡς φησι Κλέαρχος ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν
δευτέρῳ βίων, ἔλεγεν ἐνδεδέσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ

¹ ἴερὸς ἀνθίας Schweighauser: ηρος ἀνθίαν A

² ὃς πολλὰ χαίρειν Schweighäuser (*χαλρεῖν* added by Casaubon) - δν πολλὰ A.

³ Ἀχαιοὺς Meineke: ἀρχαῖος A.C.

^a The wrasse (*Labrus anthias*), as was noticed by sponge fishers, frightened away even larger fish, and was called

was splendid, and very delicate. Beside each man there stood a large bowl full of lentil soup.—^b In the very first place, that's not so splendid.—^a Next after that there came dancing with a swoop into our midst a large sea-perch, rather evil smelling.—^b That must be the ' sacred wrasse,' which makes the other wrasses forthwith give him a wide berth.')^a After a burst of laughter at this, there entered the stage-thumper^b Melissa and the dog-fly Nicion; these were notorious courtesans. Glancing with wonder at the viands before them, they began to laugh. And Nicion said. " Does no one of you, beard-gathering sirs,^c eat fish? Or is it like what your ancestor Meleager of Gadara, in the work entitled *The Graces*, said of Homer. being a Syrian by birth, he has represented the Achaeans as abstaining from fish according to the practice of his own country, although there is great abundance of them in the region of the Hellespont? Or have you read only that work of his which contains the comparison of pease-porridge with lentil-soup? For I see that the quantity of lentil-soup prepared at your dinner is great, and as I gaze upon it I should advise you, in the words of the Socratic Antisthenes, to ' deliver yourselves from life,' if you must feed on such stuff." In answer to her Carneius said: " Euxitheus the Pythagorean, Nicion, as the Peripatetic Clearchus tells us in the second book of his *Lives*,^a was wont to say that the souls of all beings are imprisoned in the

" sacred " by them ; *ταῦς κίχλαις* also means " the thrushes," as in 136 c. Cf. Aristot *HA* ix. 25. 3.

^b Found only here, probably referring to her clumsy dancing. For "dog-fly" see 126 a, note.

^c Cf. *στωμαλιοσύλλεκτάδαι*, " gossip-gatherers," Aristoph. *Ran.* 841. ^a F.H.G. ii. 303.

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τῷ δεῦρο βίω τὰς ἀπάντων ψυχὰς τιμωρίας χάριν, καὶ διείπασθαι τὸν θεὸν ὡς εἰ μὴ μενούσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔως ἂν ἔκὼν αὐτοὺς λύσῃ, πλείοσι καὶ μείζοσιν ἐμπεσοῦνται τότε λύμαις. διὸ πάντας δὲ εὐλαβουμένους τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἀνάτασιν φοβεῖσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἕκόντας ἐκβῆναι μόνον τε τὸν ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ θάνατον ἀσπασίως προσίεσθαι,¹ πεπεισμένους τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῆς τῶν κυρίων γίγνεσθαι γνώμης. τούτοις τοῖς δόγμασιν ἡμεῖς πειθόμεθα.² ὑμᾶν δὲ φθόνος οὐδὲ εἴς ἐλέσθαι ἐν τι τῶν τριῶν ἔχειν κακῶν. οὐ γάρ ἐπίστασθε, ὃ ταλαίπωροι, ὅτι αἱ βαρεῖαι αὗται τροφαὶ φράττουσι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔωσι τὴν φρόνησιν ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι.³ —

Θεόπομπος οὖν ἐν εἴ τι Φιλιππικῶν φησι· “τὸ ε γάρ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ καὶ κρεοφαγεῖν⁴ τοὺς μὲν λογισμοὺς ἔξαιρεῖ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ποιεῖται βραδυτέρας, ὄργης δὲ καὶ σκληρότητος καὶ πολλῆς σκαιότητος ἐμπίπλησι.” καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος δὲ Ξενοφῶν φησιν ὡς ἥδὺ μὲν μᾶζαν καὶ κάρδαμα φαγεῖν πεινῶντι, ἥδὺ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀρυσάμενον ἐκ ποταμοῦ διψῶντα πιεῖν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ πολλάκις κατελαμβάνετο διαπεριπατῶν ἐσπέρας βαθείας πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους “τί τηνικάδε”; ἔλεγεν δύον συνάγειν πρὸς τὸ δεῦπον —

f ‘Ημῖν δὲ αὐτάρκης μερὶς ἦν ἂν παρ’ ὑμῶν

¹ προσίεσθαι Casaubon: προστασθαι A.

² κρεοφαγεῖν Kontos: κρεαφαγεῖν A.

^a Nicion answers. There were three ways of committing suicide: by the sword, the noose, and jumping from a high cliff. Their method, by stuffing themselves with lentils, was not canonical. Cf. Schol. Pind. Ol. 1. 97.⁵

^b τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, “leading part,” an expression first used by Plato, became Stoic cant.

body and in this hither life as a punishment, and that the god has ordained that if they refuse to abide in these until he of his own will releases them, they will then be plunged in more and greater torments. Wherefore all persons, dreading the violence of the higher powers, are afraid to depart from this life of their own motion, and gladly welcome only the death which comes in old age, being persuaded that this release of their souls comes with the approval of the higher powers. To these principles we ourselves subscribe."^a "But nobody begrudges *your* choosing one of the three evils. Indeed, you don't understand, poor fools, that these heavy foods form a barrier to the authoritative part^b of the soul,^b and inhibit the reason from being itself."—

"Theopompus, therefore, in the fifth book of his *History of Philip*,^c says. 'Too much eating, as well as meat-eating, destroys the reasoning faculties and makes souls more sluggish, and fills them besides with irascibility, hardness, and awkwardness.' And the admirable Xenophon also says^d that it is pleasant to eat a barley-cake and some cress when one is hungry, and pleasant, too, to draw water from a stream and drink when one is thirsty. And Socrates was many a time found walking up and down in front of his house in the late afternoon, and to those who asked, 'What are you doing at this hour?' he would reply, 'Gathering a relish for my dinner.'—

"But we shall be satisfied with any piece that

^a F.H.G. 1. 286. In this paragraph Cynulcus interrupts the account of Parmeniscus. His Cynics reply to Nicias in the next.

^b Cyrop. i. 2. 11.

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λάβωμεν, καὶ οὐ χαλεπαίνομεν ὡς ἔλαττον φερόμενοι, καθάπερ ὁ παρὰ Ἀντικλεῖδῃ Ἡρακλῆς φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῷ β' τῶν Νόστων· μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι τοὺς ἀθλους Ἡρακλέα Εὐρυσθέως θυσίαν τινὰ ἐπιτελοῦντος συμπαραληφθέντα καὶ τῶν τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως οὐνάν τὰς μερίδας ἐκάστῳ παρατιθέντων, τῷ δ' Ἡρακλεῖ ταπεινοτέραν παραθέντων, δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀτιμάζεσθαι ὑπολαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε τρεῖς τῶν παιδῶν Περιμήδην, Εὐρύβιον, Εὐρύπυλον· οὐν τοιοῦτοι οὖν τὸν θυμὸν ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ πάντα Ἡρακλέους ζηλωταῖ·”

τραγικὸν (γάρ) ἡ φακῆ στιν, ἥσ καὶ φασιν
‘Αγάθαρχόν ποτε¹

γεγραφέναι ρίφοῦντ’ Ὁρέστην τῆς νόσου πεπαυμένον,

φησὶ Σώφιλος δὲ καῷμωδιοποιός. στωικὸν δὲ δόγμα ἔστιν ὅτι τε πάντα εὖ ποιήσει δ σοφὸς καὶ φακῆν φρονίμως ἀρτύσει. διὸ καὶ Τίμων δ Φλιάσιος b ἔφη· “καὶ Ζηνώνειόν γε² φακῆν ἔψειν δις μὴ φρονίμως μεμάθηκεν,” ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως δυναμένης ἔψηθῆναι φακῆς εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ζηνώνειον ὑφῆγησιν, δις ἔφη.

εἰς δὲ φακῆν ἔμβαλλε δυωδέκατον κοριάννου.
καὶ Κράτης δ’ ὁ Θηβαῖος ἔλεγεν·

μὴ πρὸ φακῆς λοπάδ’ αὔξων
εἰς³ στάσιν ἄμμε βάλησ.

Χρύσιππός τε ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ γνώμας τινὰς ἡμῖν εἰσφέρων φησί·

¹ ἥσ καὶ φασιν ‘Αγάθαρχόν ποτε Dobree and Meineke. ἀρχάγαθος ἔφη πο Α.

² Ζηνώνειόν γε perhaps interpolated. ³ αἰεὶ ἐs Babbitt

we may get from you, and not take it ill if we get too little, like the Heracles of Anticleides. For he says, in the second book of his *Returns*^a: ‘After the completion of his Labours, Heracles was invited with others to a sacrifice celebrated by Eurystheus; and when the sons of Eurystheus set the chief portions before each one of themselves, but placed an humbler portion before Heracles, he, deeming that he had been insulted, slew three of the sons, Perimedes, Eurybius, and Eurypylus.’ Well, then, we have no such temper ourselves, though we are emulators of Heracles in all things.”^b

Indeed, “Lental soup is known to the tragic stage; they say that Agatharchus once painted a picture of Orestes guzzling it when he had recovered from his disease.” So speaks the comic poet Sophilus^c. It is a Stoic belief, too, that the wise man will do all things rightly, even to the wise seasoning of lentil soup. Wherefore Timon of Phlius speaks of one^d “who had never learned wisely to make a Zenonian lentil soup,” as if a lentil soup could not be made otherwise than according to the Zenonian prescription. For he said: “Into the lentil soup put the twelfth part of a coriander seed.” And Crates^e of Thebes said: “Exalt not the dish of stew above a plate of lentil soup and so set us to quarrelling.” In like manner Chrysippus,^f in his essay *On the Good*, introduces to us certain maxims in these

^a P. 148 Muller; the title, *Nostoi*, is the same as that of the epic which describes the return of the Achaeans from Troy.

^b Here the narrative of Parmeniscus, begun 156 d, ends.

^c Kock II. 447.

^d Frag. 21 and 22 Wachsmuth, 187 Diels.

^e P.L.G.⁴ frag. 10

^f Birt, *Antikes Buchwesen*, p. 30, thinks the number of the book has been lost. See Kock III. 477.

ATHENAEUS

μηδέποτ' ἐλαίαν ἔσθι', ἀκαλήφην ἔχων.
χειμῶνος ὥρα βολβοφακῆν, βαβαί, βαβαί.
βολβοφακῆ δ' οἶν ἀμβροσίη ψύχους κρυόεντος.

εὸς χαρίεις τε Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ ἔφη
πτισάνην διδάσκεις αὐτὸν ἔψειν ἢ φακῆν;
καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ·
ὅστις φακῆν ἡδιστον ὄψων λοιδορεῖς
Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Διονύσοις·
χύτρα δὲ φακέας ἤψειο.
Ἀντιφάνης Ὁμοίαις·

εὖ δ' ἐγίνεθ' εἰ φακῆν¹
ἔψειν μ' ἐδίδασκε² τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τις εἴς.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁδυσσέως τοῦ φρονιμωτάτου καὶ
συνετωτάτου ἀδελφὴν Φακῆν καλουμένην, ἣν
d ἄλλοι τινὲς Καλλιστώ ὄνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἵστορεῖν
Μνασέαν τὸν Πατρέα ἐν τρίτῳ, Εὔρωπιακῶν
φῆσιν Λυσίμαχος ἐν τρίτῳ Νόστων „,

Ἐπὶ τούτοις γελάσαντος πάνυ ἔκλαμπρον τοῦ
Πλουτάρχου οὐκ ἐνέγκας ὁ κύων παροραθεῖσαν
τὴν περὶ τῆς φακῆς πολυμάθειαν “ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς γε,
ἔφη, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὡς Πλούτ-
αρχε, σύντροφοί ἐστε τῷ φακίνῳ βρώματι καὶ
πᾶσα ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις πλήρης ἐστὶ φακίνων ὡν
καὶ Σώπατρος ὁ Φάκιος παρῳδὸς μέμνηται ἐν
δράματι Βακχίδι λέγων οὕτως.

¹ εἰ φακῆν Kaihel. ηφακην A

² ᔍψειν μ' ἐδίδασκε Jacobs : εψειημεδίδασκε A.

words · ‘Never eat an olive when you have a nettle. In the winter season, a bulb-and-lentil soup, oh me, oh my ! For bulb-and-lentil soup is like ambrosia in the chilly cold.’ And the witty Aristophanes, in *Gerytades*,^a has said : ‘Are you teaching him to make barley gruel or lentil soup ?’ And in *Amphiaraus*^b. ‘You, who dare insult lentil soup, sweetest of delicacies !’ Epicharmus, in *The Dionysi*^c : ‘A kettle of lentil soup was simmering.’ Antiphanes in *Just Alike*^d · ‘It proved to be a piece of good luck, that one of the natives was teaching me how to make lentil soup ’ I know also that the sister of Odysseus, most prudent and sagacious, was called Lentil, though others name her Callisto, as recorded by Mnaseas of Patrae in the third book of his *European History* ; my authority is Lysimachus, in the third book of his *Returns*.’^e

At this Plutarch laughed very boisterously, and the Cynic, unable to bear the slighting of his erudition concerning lentils, cried, “ Yet, you men of fair Alexandria, Plutarch, have been brought up on lentil food, and your entire city is full of lentil dishes Even the ‘lentil’-parodist,^f Sopater, mentions them in a play, *Bacchis*,^g in these words : ‘I could not,

^a Kock i. 431

^b Kock i. 398.

^c Kaibel 96.

^d Kock ii. 82. For the title cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iv.

1127 a 10

^e F H.G. iii. 339, 152. For the title *Nostor* see 157 f, note. Here ends the discourse of Cynulcus begun at 156 a, to be resumed in the next paragraph.

^f Φάκιος, jocosely for Πάφιος, “Paphian.” So in American slang, Bean-town for Boston.

^g Kaibel 192 The sense is : “I, an Alexandrian, could not bring myself to eat lentil bread even when living in Rhodes, where it is a favourite dish.”

ATHENAEUS

e οὐκ ἄν δυναίμην εἰσορῶν χαλκήλατον
μέγαν κολοσσὸν φάκιων ἄρτον ἐσθίειν.
' ἐπεὶ τί δεῖ βροτοῦσι' κατὰ τὸν σὸν Εὔριπίδην,
γραμματικώτατε, 'πλὴν δυοῦ μόνον,'

Δῆμητρος ἀκτῆς πώματός θ' ὑδρηχόου,
ἀπερ πάρεστι καὶ πέφυχ' ἡμᾶς τρέφειν.
ῶν οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ πλησμονή¹. τρυφῆ γέ τοι
ἄλλων ἐδεστῶν μηχανὰς θηρεύομεν.

κάν αὖτοις δέ φησιν δ σκηνικὸς οὗτος φιλόσοφος.

ἀρκεῖ μετρία βιοτά μοι
σώφρονος τραπέζης.

f τὸ δ' ἄκαυρον ἄπαν . . . ὑπερβάλ-
λον τε μὴ προσείμαν.

καὶ δ σωκράτης δ' ἔλεγεν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
διαφέρειν καθ' ὅσον οἱ μὲν ζῶσιν ἵν' ἐσθίωσιν,
αὐτὸς δ' ἐσθίει ὥνα ζῆ. Διογένης τε πρὸς τοὺς
ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ ἀποτριβομένῳ ἔλεγεν. 'εἴθ'
ἡδυνάμην καὶ τὴν γαστέρα τρύψας τῆς πείνης καὶ
τῆς ἐνδείας παύσασθαι.' δ σ' Εὔριπίδης ἐν
'Ικέτισι περὶ τοῦ Καπανέως φησίν.

159 Καπανεὺς δδ' ἐστίν· φί βίος μὲν ἦν πολύς,
ἡκιστα δ' ὅλβῳ γαῦρος ἦν· φρόνημα δὲ
οὐδέν τι μεῖζον εἶχεν ἢ πένης ἀνήρ,
ψέγων² τραπέζαις εἴ τις ἐξογκοῦτ' ἄγαν,
τάρκοῦν ἐπαινῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν γαστρὸς βορᾶ
τὸ χρηστὸν εἶναι, μέτρια δ' ἐξαρκεῖν ἔφη.

Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ τοιοῦτος δ Καπανεὺς οἶνος δ καλὸς
Χρύσιππος διαγράφει ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν μὴ δι'
αὐτὰ αἴρετῶν λέγων ὥδε. 'ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν τινες ἐκ-

living within sight of the huge bronze Colossus, eat a loaf of lentil bread.' 'For what need have mortals (as your own Euripides says,^a most learned grammarian) of aught save two things only, Demeter's bounty and a water-gushing draught? These we have at hand, and nature gave them to nurture us. Yet we are not satisfied with abundance of these, and so in mere wantonness we hunt for devices to get other foods' And in another place this philosopher of the stage says^a: 'Sufficient unto me is the modest food of a sober table; but all that is unseasonable and goes beyond due measure I hope I may not admit.' And Socrates used to say that he differed from all other men in that they live to eat whereas he ate to live. Diogenes, too, answered those who chided him for rubbing himself down: 'Would that I were able, by rubbing my belly as well, to quell its hunger and want!' Euripides in *The Suppliants*^b says of Capaneus: 'Here is Capaneus; his fortune was great, yet was he by no means proud in his felicity; and he carried a spirit no more presumptuous than any poor man, chiding any who was swollen overmuch with a rich table, and praising what sufficed; for he said that excellence consisted not in stuffing the belly, but that things in moderation were enough.'

"Capaneus was, in fact, not like the man whom the noble Chrysippus describes in the tract on *Things not to be Chosen for their own Sake*. He says: 'Some men

^a T.G.F.² 646.

^b 861 ff., cf. Athen. 250 f.

¹ Aulus Gellius (vi. 16 7): πλησμονῆς A.

² φεύγων Eur.

ATHENAEUS

ἢ πίπτουσι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ὥστε ἴστορησθαι πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τινα μὲν καταπιόντα οὐκ ὀλίγους χρυσοῦς ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ῥαψάμενον εἴς τινα¹ χιτῶνα καὶ ἐνδύντα αὐτὸν ἐπισκῆψαι τοὺς οἰκείους θάψαι οὕτως μήτε καύσαντας μήτε θεραπεύσαντας.² οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μονονούχι βοῶντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

ῳ χρυσέ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,
ῳδεὶς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονὰς τοιάσδ' ἔχει,
οὐ παῖδες ἐν δόμοισιν,³ οὐ φίλος πατήρ,
οἵας σὺ χοὶ σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοι
c εἰ δ' ἡ Κύπρις τοιοῦτον ὁφθαλμοῖς ὄρᾳ,
οὐ θαῦμ⁴ "Ἐρωτας μυρίους αὐτὴν ἔχειν.

τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἡ φιλοχρηματία παρὰ τοὺς τότε·
περὶ ἣς Ἀνάχαρσις πυνθανομένου τινὸς πρὸς τί⁵
οἱ "Ελληνες χρῶνται τῷ ἀργυρίῳ εἶπεν 'πρὸς τὸ
ἀριθμεῖν.' Διογένης δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ Πολιτείᾳ
νόμισμα εἶναι νομοθετεῖν ἀστραγάλους καλῶς γὰρ
καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἴρηκε·

μὴ πλοῦτον εἴπης· οὐχὶ θαυμάζω θεὸν
δὲν χώ κάκιστος ράδίως ἐκτήσατο.

d Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ τῇ εἰς τὴν περὶ
ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν πραγματείαν⁶ νεανίσκον φησί
τινα ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας σφόδρα πλούσιον ἐπιδημῆσαι
ταῖς Ἀθήναις πορφυρίδα ἡμφιεσμένον ἔχουσαν
χρυσᾶ κράσπεδα πυνθανομένου δέ τινος αὐτοῦ

¹ τινὰ A. Μενεκε τὸν : Meyer del

² εν δόμοισιν A. ἀνθρώποισιν Sext. Empir and Stobaeus.

³ εἰσαγώγῃ τῇ . . πραγματείαν Casaubon: τῆς . . πραγματείᾳ A. εἰσαγώγῃ τῇ περὶ ἀγαθῶν 464 d.

are so degraded, when it comes to money, that the story is told of a man who, when near his end, swallowed a large number of gold pieces and died; still another caused some to be sewn in a shirt, and after putting it on he charged the members of his household to bury him just as he was, without burning his body or caring for it in any way.' Such persons as these, in fact, all but shout as they die.

'O Gold, fairest gift welcomed by mortals! For neither a mother, nor children in the house, nor loved father can bring such delights as thou and they that own thee in their halls. If the glance which shines from Kypris' eyes is like thine, no wonder that countless loves attend her.'^a Such was the character of the greed which people of those days possessed; concerning it Anacharsis, when someone asked him what the Greeks used money for, replied, 'To count!' Diogenes ordains that in his ideal state the currency shall be dice. Well said are the following words of Euripides:^b 'Speak not of wealth^c; for I reverence not the god whom even the basest man may easily win to his side.' Chrysippus, in the introduction to his treatise on *Good and Evil*, says that once a very rich young man came to Athens from Ionia, dressed in a purple cloak with gold fringe. When someone asked him where he

^a From the lost *Danaē* of Euripides, T.G.F.² 456. Cf. Seneca's rendering, *Epist.* 115. 14.

pecunia ingens generis humani bonum,
cui non voluptas matris aut blandae potest
par esse prolis, non sacer meritis parens.
tam dulce siquid Veneris in vultu micat,
merito illa amores caelitum atque hominum movet.

^b T.G.F.² 368.

^c Or, the god Plutus.

ATHENAEUS

ποδαπός ἔστιν ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι πλούσιος. μήποτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ μημονεύει καὶ "Αλεξίς ἐν Θηβαίοις λέγων ὥδε

ἔστιν δὲ ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος οὗτος; β. πλούσιος· τούτους δὲ πάντες φασὶν εὐγενεστάτους, πένητα δ' εὐπάτριδ' οὐδὲ εἰς ὄρᾳ."

e. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Κύνουλκος, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκροταλίσθη, θυμωθεὶς "ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὗτοι, ἔφη, ὡς συμποσίαρχε, ὑπὸ λογοδιαρροίας ἐνοχλούμενοι μὴ πεινῶσιν ἢ τὰ περὶ τῆς φακῆς λεχθέντα χλευάζουσιν, ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες τὰ εἰρημένα Φερεκράτει ἐν Κοριανοῖ

φέρε δὴ κατακλινῶ· σὺ δὲ τράπεζαν ἔκφερε¹ καὶ κύλικα κάντραγεῖν, ἵν' ἥδιον πίω

β. ἴδου κύλιξ σοι καὶ τράπεζα καὶ φακοί.

α. μή μοι φακούς, μὰ τὸν Δί· οὐ γάρ ἥδομαι.

f. ἥν γάρ τράγη τις, τοῦ στόματος ὅζει κακόν

ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ τοῦτο φυλάττονται οἱ σοφοὶ οὗτοι τοὺς φακούς, ἀλλ' ἡμῦν γε ποίησον δοθῆναι ἄρτων,² μεθ' ὧν μηδὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν, ἀλλὰ κανὸν τὴν πολυθρύλητον ἔχησ φακῆν ἢ τὸν καλούμενον κόγχον." γελασάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κόγχῳ μάλιστα "ἀπαΐδευτοί ἔστε, ἔφη, ἄνδρες δαιτυμόνες, οὐκ ἀναγινώσκοντες βιβλία ἢ μόνα παιδεύει τούς γε ἐπιθυμοῦντας τῶν καλῶν λέγω

160 δὲ τὰ Τίμωνος τοῦ Πυρρωνείου τῶν σίλλων. οὗτος γάρ ἔστιν ὃς καὶ τοῦ κόγχου μημονεύει ἐν τῷ β'³ τῶν σίλλων λέγων οὕτως.

¹ ἔκφερε Kock: φέρε A.

² ἄρτων Lumb. ἄρτον A

^a Kock ii. 326, cf. Plautus, *Capt.* ii. 2. 27.

^b Kock i. 163; the title is the name of a courtesan.

was from he replied, 'From Richmond.' Perhaps this is the same young man as that mentioned by Alexis in *The Thebans*^a thus : 'Whence does this man trace his birth?' b. From the Richmonds. All agree that these are most highly born, but not a soul sees a poor man of noble origin.' "

When Cynulcus failed to get applause after these words, in a burst of temper he said, "Mr. Toastmaster, these gentlemen have no hunger, being troubled with word-diarrhoea, or they ridicule what has been said about lentil soup. having in mind what Pherecrates has said in *Corianno*^b 'A. Come, give me a place on the couch; slave, bring forth a table, and a cup, and something to eat, to make the drinking sweeter. B. Here's a cup for you, a table, and some lentils. A. No lentils for me, by Zeus; I don't like them. If one eats them, his breath smells bad.' I say, then, since for this reason these wise men are wary of lentils, at least let some bread be given to me and with it anything that is not too expensive; on the contrary, if so be that you have but the far-famed lentil soup, or the so-called 'conch'^c' " They all laughed, especially at the mention of "conch," but he continued : "Fellow-diners, you are illiterate; you never read books which alone can educate those who are eager for the good; I mean the books of *Satire* by Timon, disciple of Pyrrhon. For he it is who also mentions 'conch' in the second book of his *Satires*,^d in these

^a Lat *conchis*, in which lentils were cooked with the pods; Juvenal iii. 293, xiv. 131, Martial vii. 77. Originally, a sea-shell or its contents; here a dish eaten by the poor. Cynulcus, probably to provoke Ulpian, uses it masculine, whereas Timon has it feminine.

^b Frag. 44 Wachsmuth, 185 Diels.

ATHENAEUS

οῦτε μοι ἡ Τεῖη¹ μᾶζ² ἀνδάνει οῦτε καρύκκη²
ἡ Λυδῶν, λειτῆ δὲ καὶ αὐαλέη ἐνὶ κόγχῳ
Ἐλλήνων ἡ πᾶσα περισσοτρύφητος διζύς

διασφόρων γὰρ οὖσῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Τέω μαζῶν ὡς
καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἐρετρίας (ὡς Σώπατρος ἐν Βακχίδος
μνηστῆροι φησὶν γάρ·

b Ἐρέτριαν ὡρμήθημεν εἰς λευκάλφιτον)
καὶ τῶν Λυδίων καρυκκῶν προκρίνει ἀμφοτέρων
δι Τίμων τὸν κόγχον.”

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιάτωρ Λαρήνσιος
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη· “ὦ ἄνδρες κύνες οἱ . . .³ κατὰ
τὴν Στράττιδος τοῦ κωμῳδιοποιοῦ Ἰοκάστην,
ἥτις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Φοινίσσαις φησίν·

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σοφόν·
ὅταν φακῆν ἔψητε, μὴ πιχεῖν μύρον.

καὶ ὁ Σώπατρος δέ, οὗ τὰ νῦν μέμνησαι, ἐν
c Νεκυίᾳ μνημονεύει οὕτως·

“Ιθακος Ὀδυσσεύς, τοὺπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον,
πάρεστι θάρσει, θυμέ.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου ἐν τοῖς περὶ
παροιμιῶν ὡς παροιμίαν ἀναγράφει τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ
φακῇ μύρον, ἃς μέμνηται καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς προπάτωρ
Οὐάρρων ὁ Μενίππειος ἐπικαλούμενος· καὶ οἱ
πολλοὶ τῶν γραμματικῶν τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν οὐχ
διμιλήσαντες πολλοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ
συγγραφεῦσιν οὐκ ἵσασιν ὅθεν εὔληφεν ὁ Οὐάρρων
d τὸ ἱαμβεῖον. σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς, ὥς Κύνουλκε

¹ ἡ Τεῖη Casaubon: ἡ τῇ A.

² Schweighauser: κακρύκη A.

words : ' I like not the barley-cake of Teos, nor the spiced gravy of the Lydians ; but in the vulgar and squalid conch my Greek poverty finds all its over-flowing luxury.' For though the barley-cakes of Teos are excellent, like those of Eretria (to judge from Sopater, in *The Suitors of Bacchis*^a ; he says . ' We sped to Eretria, city of white barley-meal ') , Timon prefers the conch to them and to the Lydian spiced gravy as well.'

In reply to this our noble host Larensis himself spoke " Fellow Dogs,"^b who . . . in the words of the Locasta of the comic poet Strattis ; she says, in the play entitled *Phoenician Women*^c : ' I wish to give you two some wise advice ; when you make lentil-soup don't pour in perfume.' And Sopater also, whom you have just quoted, recalls the proverb in *Spirit-Raising*^d thus : ' Odysseus of Ithaca is here ; as the saying goes, the perfume is in the soup. Have courage, my soul ! ' Clearachus, of the Peripatetic School, in his work on *Proverbs*,^e includes the phrase ' perfume in the lentil-soup ' as a proverb, which is mentioned also by my ancestor, Varro, surnamed the Menippean.^f And most of the Roman grammarians, not having been conversant with many Greek poets and historians, do not know where Varro took the verse from. You, Cynulcus (since

^a Kaibel 192.

^b i.e. Cynics. See crit. note.

^c Kock i 724 ; cf. Euripides, *Phoen.* 460.

^d Kaibel 195. Cf. Eurip. *Cyclops* 101

^e F.H.G. ii. 320 ; of any useless luxury.

^f P. 219 Buecheler, on the Menippean satire see Introduction, vol. i p. viii

^g

³ κύνες or A (lacuna marked by Kaibel) : κυνοσσός, " dog-drivers," Schweighauser.

ATHENAEUS

(τούτῳ γὰρ χαιρεῖς τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐ λέγων ὃ ἐκ γενετῆς σε ἡ μήτηρ κέκληκε) κατὰ τὸν σὸν Τίμωνα εἶναι ‘μοι καλός¹ τε μέγας τε,’ οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι κόγχος παρὰ προτέρῳ μνήμης τετυχῆκεν Ἐπιχάρμῳ ἐν τῷ Ἑορτῇ² καὶ Νάσοις ‘Αντιφάνει τε τῷ κωμικῷ, ὃς ὑποκοριστικώτερον αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν ἐν Γάμῳ οὕτως.

κογχίον τε μικρὸν ἀλλάντος τε προστεμημένον.”

‘Εξῆς ἄρπάσας τὸν λόγον ὁ Μάγνος “ ὁ μὲν πάντα εἰ ἄριστος, ἔφη, Λαρήνσιος ὀξέως καὶ καλῶς ἀπήντησε τῷ γάστριδι κυνὶ περὶ τοῦ κόγχου ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Παφίου Σωπάτρου Γαλάτας,

παρ’ οἷς ἔθος ἔστιν, ἵνικ’ ἂν προτέρημά τι ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λάβωσι, θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς³ Γαλάτας μιμούμενος κάγῳ κατακαύσειν ηὐξάμην τοῖς δαιμοσιὶ διαλεκτικοὺς τρεῖς τῶν παρεγγεγραμμένων.

f καὶ μὴν φιλοσοφεῖν φιλολογεῖν τ’ ἀκηκοῶς ὑμᾶς ἐπιμελῶς καρτερεῖν θ’ αἰρουμένους, τὴν πεῖραν ὑμᾶν λήψομαι τῶν δογμάτων, πρῶτον⁴ καπνίζων εἴτ’ ἐὰν ὁπτωμένων ἴδω τιν’ ὑμῶν συσπάσαντα τὸ σκέλος, Ζηνωνικῷ πραθήσεθ⁵ οὗτος κυρίως ἐπ’ ἔξαγωγῇ, τὴν φρόνησιν ἀγνοῶν.

μετὰ παρρησίας γὰρ ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς εἰ αὐτάρκειαν ἀσπάζῃ, φιλόσοφε, τί οὐ τοὺς Πυθ-

¹ μοι καλός corrupt. Wilam conj. μύκλος, “ lascivious,” Lumb λενγαλέος, “ miserable ”

² εν τῷ Ἑορτῇ A : ἐν τε Ὁρύφ (cf 94 f) Kaibel

³ τοὺς added by Porson.

you delight in this name,^a never mentioning the one by which your mother called you at birth), in my opinion are ‘mighty fine and tall,’^b in the words of your friend Timon,^c but are not aware that ‘conch’ has found mention in Epicharmus long before in his *Holiday* and *Islands*,^d and also in the comic poet Antiphanes, who used a diminutive form for the word in *Marriage*^e: ‘a little bit of conch (*conchion* for *conchos*) and a slice of sausage cut off besides.’ ”

Thereupon Magnus took the floor and said: “Our altogether excellent Larensis has answered this glutton ‘dog’ concerning ‘conch’ keenly and well. But I will follow *The Celts* of the Paphian Sopater^f: ‘Among them it is the custom, whenever they win any success in battle, to sacrifice their captives to the gods; so I, imitating the Celts, have vowed to the heavenly powers that I shall burn three of those counterfeit dialecticians on the altar. Look you! Having listened to you while you solemnly professed your philosophy and your philology and your stoical endurance, I am going to make a test of your doctrines first by smoking them: then, if I see one of you during the roasting pulling up his leg, he shall be sold to a Zenonian master for export, as one who knows not Wisdom.’ For I will say to them frankly: if you, my philosopher, really love independence, why

^a See 1 d

^b See critical note; cf. *Il.* xxi. 108, *Od.* xviii. 5.

^c Frag. 31 Wachsmuth, 187 Diels.

^d Kaibel 108: the titles should perhaps read “both in the *Orya* (“Sausage”) and the *Islands*”, see crit. note.

^e Kock ii. 40.

^f Kaibel 193.

⁷ ^θ
⁴ πρῶτον Kaibel πρόστον A
⁵ πραθήσεθ' Casaubon. παραθήσεθ' A.

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αγορικοὺς ἐκείνους ζηλοῦς περὶ ὅν φησιν Ἀντι-
161 φάνης μὲν ἐν Μνήμασι τάδε·

τῶν Πυθαγοριστῶν¹ δούς ἔτυχον ἀθλοί τινες
ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ τρώγοντες ἄλιμα καὶ κακὰ
τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες ἐν τῷ κωρύκῳ.²

καὶ τῷ κυρίᾳ Κωρύκῳ δούς ἐπιγραφομένῳ φησί·

πρῶτον μὲν ὡσπερ πυθαγορίζων ἐσθίει
ἔμψυχον οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ πλείστης τούβολοῦ
μάζης μελαγχρῆ μερίδα λαμβάνων λέπει.

b "Αλεξίς δούς ἐν Ταραντίνοις·

οἱ πυθαγορίζοντες γάρ, ὡς ἀκούομεν,
οὔτ' ὅψον ἐσθίουσιν οὔτ' ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν
ἔμψυχον, οἶνόν τ' οὐχὶ πίνουσιν μόνοι.
B. Ἐπιχαρίδης μέντοι κύνας κατεσθίει,
τῶν Πυθαγορείων εἴσ. A. ἀποκτείνας γέ που³.
οὐκ ἔτι γάρ ἐστ' ἔμψυχον.

προελθών τέ φησι

πυθαγορισμοὶ καὶ λόγοι
λεπτοὶ διεσμιλευμέναι τε φροντίδες
τρέφουσ' ἐκείνους, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τάδε·
c ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἴς ἑκατέρῳ, ποτήριον
ῦδατος· τοσαῦτα ταῦτα. B δεσμωτηρίου
λέγεις δίαιταν πάντες οὕτως οἱ σοφοὶ
διάγονοι καὶ τοιαῦτα κακοπαθοῦσί που;
A. τρυφῶσιν οὗτοι⁴ πρὸς ἑτέρους. ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι
Μελανιππίδης ἔταιρός ἐστι καὶ Φάνως
καὶ Φυρόμαχος καὶ Φάνως, οἱ δι' ἡμέρας
δειπνοῦσι πέμπτης ἀλφίτων κοτύλην μίαν;

do you not emulate those Pythagoreans concerning whom Antiphanes, in *Memorials*,^a has these lines? ‘Some wretched Pythagorists chanced to be eating salt-wort in the ravine, and, moreover, collecting poor bits of it in their bags’ And in the real *Bag*,^b as it is entitled, Antiphanes says: ‘First of all, like a devotee of Pythagoras, he eats nothing that has life, but takes a sooty piece of barley-cake, costing at the most a ha’penny, and chews^c that.’ And Alexis in *Men of Tarentum*^d. ‘A. The devotees of Pythagoras, we hear, eat neither fish nor anything else that has life, and they are the only ones who drink no wine. B. Yes, but Epicharides devours dogs, and he is a Pythagorean. A. Of course, after he has killed one, for then it no longer has life!’ And going on Alexis says: ‘A. Pythagorean subtleties, and fine-spun discourses, and disputations nicely polished nurture those fellows, but their daily food is thus: one loaf of simple^e bread for each, a cup of water. That’s all! B. It’s prison fare that you tell of. Can it be that all these wise men live like that, and suffer such misery? A. These men live in luxury compared to others. Don’t you know that Melanippides is a disciple, and Phaon, Phyromachus, and Phanus, who dine every four days on one half-

^a Kock ii. 76.^b Kock ii. 67.^c λέπτει, “peels,” is slang for “chews.” See 170 d, 246 f.^d Kock ii. 378^e Lit. “clean,” cf. 149 e.

¹ Πυθαγοριστῶν (“later imitators of Pythagoras”) Elmsley: Πυθαγορικῶν A (“earlier Pythagoreans”). New Comedy has either Πυθαγορισταῖ or Πυθαγόρειοι (the last in Aristotle).

² ἐν τῷ κωρύκῳ added from following by Koppiers.³ γέ που Kock. γενοῦ A.⁴ οὗτοι Cobet: ἔτεροι A.

ATHENAEUS

καὶ ἐν Πυθαγοριζούσῃ.

d ή δ' ἐστίασις ἵσχάδες καὶ στέμφυλα
καὶ τυρὸς ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ θύειν νόμος
τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις. Β. *νὴ Δὲ*, ἱερεῖον μὲν οὖν
ὅποιον ἄν καλλιστον, ὁ βέλτιστ³, ἔχη.

kai met' olyia.

ἔδει θ' ὑπομεῖναι μικροσυτίαν, ρύπον,
ρῆγος, σιωπήν, στυγνότητ¹, ἀλουσίαν.

Τούτων δ' ὑμεῖς, ὡς φιλόσοφοι, οὐδὲν ἀσκεῖτε,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάντων χαλεπώτατον λαλεῖτε περὶ
ῶν οὐκ οἴδατε καὶ ὡς κοσμίως ἐσθίοντες ποιεῖτε
τὴν ἔνθεσιν κατὰ τὸν ἥδιστον Ἀντιφάνη· οὗτος
γάρ ἐν Δραπεταγγῷ λέγει·

ε κοσμίως ποιῶν τὴν ἔνθεσιν—
μικρὰν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθε, μεστὴν δ' ἔνδοθεν
τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ αἱ γυναικεῖς—κατέφαγε²
πάμπολλα καὶ παχύτατα,³

ἔξον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ποιητὴν ἐν Βομβυλιῷ λέγοντα δραχμῆς ὠνήσασθαι

*τὰς προσφόρους ὑμῖν τροφάς,
σκορόδια, τυρόν, κρόμμια, κάππαριν
ἄπαντα ταῦτ’ ἔστιν δραχμῆς.*

⁴ Αριστοφῶν⁴ δ' ἐν Πυθαγοριστῇ

f πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλαι ποτὲ τοὺς Πυθαγοριστὰς γινομένους ὅντως ρύπαν ἐκόντας ἢ φορεῦν τρίβωνας ἡδέως, οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἔμοὶ δοκεῖ.

¹ στυγνότητ^ρ AC. γυμνότητ^ρ ("nakedness") Eustathius 1560, 60

pint of barley-meal? ’ And in *The Lady Devotee of Pythagoras*^a. ‘ A Their entertainment will be dried figs and olive-cakes^b and cheese : for to offer these in sacrifice is the Pythagoreans’ custom ^c. So help me Zeus, good sir, that is the finest “ meat ” there is.’ And after a little : ‘ They had to put up with sparse diet, dirt, cold, silence, gloom,^c and going without a bath.’

“ But you, my philosophers, practise nothing of this regimen ; on the contrary—and this is the most vexatious of all—you babble about things you know nothing of, and as eaters pretending decorum, you put in your mouthfuls in the way described so pleasantly by Antiphanes. For he says in *The Restorer of Runaways*^d : ‘ Decorously putting in a mouthful—making his hand small to be sure in front, but full inside, as the women do—he ate it all up, fully and fattily ’ According to this same poet, speaking in *The Bumble-bee*,^e he might have purchased for a shilling ‘ the foods which suit you, garlic, cheese, onions, capers—all that for a shilling.’ Aristophon in *The Pythagorean Disciple*^f. ‘ In the name of the gods, do we really think that those Pythagorean disciples, born in the old days, willingly went dirty or wore old clothes because they wanted to ? It is no such thing, in my opinion. Rather,

^a Kock ii. 370. ^b The refuse of olives from the oil-press.

^c See critical note

^d Kock ii. 46 ; the title refers to those who made a business of recovering fugitive slaves. Indemnities for their loss, paid by contract, constitute the earliest form of assurance.

^e Kock ii. 37.

^f Kock ii. 279.

² κατέφαγε Dindorf καταφάγετε AC

³ παχύτατα Kock ταχύτατα A.

⁴ Ἀριστοφῶν Menagius ἀριστοφάνης AC.

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ἀλλ’ ἔξ αὐγάκης, οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἔν,
τῆς εὐτελείας πρόφασιν εύροντες καλὴν
ὅρους ἐπηξαν τοῖς πένησι χρησίμους.
ἐπεὶ παράθεις αὐτοῖσιν ὑχθῦς ἡ κρέας,
κὰν μὴ κατεσθίωσι καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους,
ἔθέλω κρέμασθαι δεκάκις.

162 οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ’ ἔστὶν μνημονεῦσαι καὶ τοῦ εἰς
ἡμᾶς¹ ποιηθέντος ἐπιγράμματος, ὅπερ παρέθετο
ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν ἕκτῳ ὑπομνημάτων.

δόφρυανασπασίδαι, ρίνεγκαταπηξιγένειοι,
σακκογενειοτρόφοι καὶ λοπαδαρπαγίδαι,
εἵματανωπερίβαλλοι, ἀνηλιποκαββλεπέλαιοι,²
νυκτιλαθραιοφάγοι, νυκταπαταμπλάκιοι,³
μειρακιεξαπάται καὶ συλλαβοπευσυλαληται,
δοξοματαιοσοφοι, ζηταρετησιάδαι.

‘Αρχέστρατός τε ὁ Γελῶς ἐν τῇ Γαστρολογίᾳ
—ἥν μόνην ἡμεῖς ῥαψῳδίαν οἱ σοφοὶ ἀσπάζεσθε,
μόνον τοῦτο πυθαγορίζοντες τὸ σιωπᾶν, δι-
ἀσθένειαν λόγων τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἔτι τε τὴν
Σφοδρίου τοῦ κυνικοῦ τέχνην ἐρωτικὴν καὶ τὰς
Πρωταγορίδου ἀκροάσεις ἐρωτικὰς Περσαίου τε
τοῦ καλοῦ φιλοσόφου συμποτικοὺς διαλόγους
εἰσιντεθέντας ἐκ τῶν Στίλπωνος καὶ Ζήνωνος
ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἐν οἷς ζητεῖ, ὅπως ἂν μὴ
κατακοιμηθῶσιν οἱ συμπόται, καὶ πῶς ταῖς
ἐπιχύσεσι χρηστέον πηνίκα τε εἰσακτέον τοὺς
ώραιούς καὶ τὰς ὥραιάς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ πότε

¹ ἡμᾶς Musurus · ἡμᾶς A.

² εἵματανωπερίβαλλοι, ἀνηλ. Casaubon, Scaliger · ἀνηλιπο-
καββλεπέλαιοι Ludwig · ἵνα τὰν ωπερίβαλλ' ὀτάνηλιποκαιβλε-
πέλαιοι A

they did it from necessity, possessing not so much as a penny, and having found a good excuse for their frugality, they fixed standards fit for the poor. For just set before them fish or meat ; if they don't eat them up, and their own fingers too, I am willing to be strung up a dozen times' It is not a bad time to recall the epigram, written in your honour, which Hegesander of Delphi has cited in the sixth book of his *Commentaries*^a : ' Sons-of-eyebrow-raisers, noses-fixed-in-beards, beards-bag-fashion-trimmed, and casserole-pilferers too, cloaks-over-shoulders-slinging, barefoot-shambling-with-eyes-cast-down,^b night-birds-secretly-feeding, night-sinners-in-deceit, puny-lad-deceivers, and silly-babblers-of-sought-syllables, wise-in-their-vain-conceits, degenerate-sons-of-seekers-after-good.'

" Archestratus of Gela, in his *Gastrology*—this, by the way, is the only epic poem which you wise men like ; the only Pythagorean rule you observe is the rule of silence, which you practise only because of your incapacity for discourse ; furthermore, you like the *Art of Love* by the Cynic Sphodrias, you like the recitations on love^c given by Protagorides, and the *Convivial Dialogues* of that noble sage Persaeus, compiled from the memoirs of Stilpo and Zeno. In these, that the banqueters may not fall asleep, questions are raised such as, How should the toasts be ordered ? At what hour should the beautiful boys and girls be introduced into the symposium,

^a F.H.G. iv. 413, an epigram on all philosophers.

^b See critical note ; the last part of the word is more probably connected with ελαύνω than with έλαιον.

^c The beginnings of the Novel.

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αὐτοὺς προσδεκτέον ὡραιζομένους καὶ πότε παραπεμπτέον ὡς ὑπερορῶντας, καὶ περὶ προσοψημάτων καὶ περὶ ἄρτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τε περιεργότερον περὶ φιλημάτων εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωφρονίσκου φιλόσοφος, ὃς περὶ ταῦτα τὴν διάνοιαν ἀεὶ στρέφων πιστευθείσ, ὡς φησιν Ἐρμιππος, ὃν
Ἀντιγόνου τὸν Ἀκροκόρυνθον κωθωνιζόμενος ἔξ-
έπεσεν καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Κορίνθου, καταστρατηγηθεὶς
ὑπὸ τοῦ Σικυωνίου Ἀράτου, ὁ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς
διαλόγοις πρὸς Ζήνωνα διαμιλλώμενος ὡς ὁ
σοφὸς πάντως ἀν εἴη καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀγαθός,
μόνον τοῦτο διὰ τῶν ἔργων διαβεβαιωσάμενος ὁ
καλὸς τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκετεύς.¹ χαριέντως γὰρ
ἔφη Βίων ὁ Βορυσθενίτης θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ
χαλκῆν εἰκόνα, ἐφ' ἣς ἐπεγέγραπτο “Περσαῖον
Ζήνωνος Κιτιᾶ,” πεπλανῆσθαι εἶπε τὸν ἐπιγρά-
ε φαντα· δεῦν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν “Περσαῖον Ζήνωνος
οἰκετιᾶ” ἦν γὰρ ὅντως οἰκέτης γεγονὼς τοῦ
Ζήνωνος, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἴστορεῖ ἐν τῇ
περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἴστοριᾳ καὶ Σωτίων ὁ
Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς. δύο δὲ συγ-
γράμμασι τοῦ Περσαίου ἀπηντήκαμεν τῆς σοφῆς
ταύτης πραγματείας, τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸ ἐπί-
γραμμα, συμποτικῶν διαλόγων.

Κτησίβιος δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὁ Μενεδήμου γνώριμος,

¹ οἰκετιεύς Kaibel (*οἰκιτιεύς* Schweighauser): ὁ κιτιεὺς A

^a Or reading, with Kaibel, ἢ after εἴρηκεν and deleting φιλόσοφος, “all that he (Persaeus) has said about kisses with more particularity than the son of Sophroniscus”; Socrates is meant, Xen *Mem* II. 6. 33.

^b F.H.G. III. 48.

^c Which proved, since he was a poor general, that he was

and when should they be allowed to practise their coquetry, and when should they be sent packing for showing contempt? And then, again, concerning new entrées and kinds of bread, and, among other topics, all that the philosopher son of Sophroniscus has said with some particularity on the subject of kisses.^a For Persaeus ever turned his mind to these subjects; but having been entrusted by Antigonus with the citadel of Corinth, as Hermippus says,^b he was ejected when in his cups even from Corinth itself, being out-generalled by Aratus of Sicyon—he who before that had hotly insisted, in his *Dialogues* addressed to Zeno, that the wise man would under all circumstances prove to be a good general as well, the noble ‘slave’ of Zeno having established this contention by his deeds alone!^c For Bion the Borysthenite, when he saw a bronze statue of him on which was inscribed ‘Persaeus, slave of Zeno, of the town of Citium,’ remarked wittily that the engraver of the inscription had made a mistake; for (he said) it should read thus: ‘Persaeus of Zeno-Slavia.’^d For he was, as a matter of fact, a slave of Zeno, as Nicias of Nicaea records in his *Inquiry Concerning Philosophers*, and Sotion of Alexandria in his *Successions*.^e I have come across two volumes of this wise treatise of Persaeus bearing this title, *Convivial Dialogues*.

“Ctesibius of Chalcis, the friend of Menedemus,

not a wise man. His syllogism was this: All wise men make good generals, I am a wise man; therefore I shall make a good general. The conclusion might be correct, the minor premise was not.

^a Punning on ἀκίτιεύς, “he of Citium,” and ὀλκετεύς, “from among his slaves”

^b i.e. successive heads of the philosophic schools.

ATHENAEUS

ώς φησιν Ἀντίγονος δὲ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς βίοις,
ἢ ρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος τί περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας
αὐτῷ, ἔφη “ἀσυμβόλως δειπνεῖν.” διὸ καὶ δὲ
Τίμων που πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη·

δειπνομανές, νεβροῦ ὅμματ¹ ἔχων, κραδίην δὲ
ἀκύλιστον.

ἥν δὲ εὔστοχος δὲ Κτησίβιος καὶ χαρίεις περὶ τὸ
163 γελοῖον· διὸ καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ συμπόσια
παρεκάλουν· οὐχ ὡσπερ σύ, κυνικέ, δὲ μηδέποτε
ταῖς Χάρισιν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ταῖς Μούσαις θύσας.
φυγοῦσα γοῦν σε καὶ τοὺς σοὶ παραπλησίους ἡ
Ἀρετὴ Ἡδονῆ παρακάθηται, ὡς φησι Μνασάλκης
δὲ Σικυώνιος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν.

ἄδ’ ἐγὼ ἀ τλάμων Ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῇδε κάθημαι

‘Ἡδονῆ, αἰσχίστως κειραμένη πλοκάμους,
θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλω βεβολημένα, εἴπερ ἄπασιν

b ἀ κακόφρων Τέρψις κρείσσον ἐμοῦ κέκριται.

Βάτων δὲ δὲ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀνδροφόνῳ φησί·

τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς σώφρονας ἐνταυθοῖ καλῶ,
τοὺς ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς οὐ διδόντας οὐδὲ ἔν,
τοὺς τὸν φρόνιμον ζητοῦντας ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις
καὶ ταῖς διατριβαῖς ὡσπερ ἀποδεδρακότα.

ἄνθρωπ² ἀλάστωρ, διὰ τί συμβολὰς ἔχων
νήφεις; τί τηλικοῦτον ἀδικεῖς τοὺς θεούς;

c τι τάργυριον, ἄνθρωπε, τιμιώτερον
σαυτοῦ τέθεικας ἢ πέφυκε τῇ φύσει;
ἀλυσιτελῆς εἶ τῇ πόλει πύνων ὕδωρ
τὸν γὰρ γεωργὸν καὶ τὸν ἔμπορον κακοῖς.
ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς προσόδους μεθύων καλὰς ποῶ.

¹ νεβροῦ Schweighauser. νεκρεῖ AC.

² Of philosophers; p. 102 Wilamowitz.

was once asked by somebody, according to Antigonus of Carystus in his *Lives*,^a what advantage he had gained from philosophy. He replied, ‘Dinners without paying my share.’ Wherefore Timon somewhere addressed him in these words,^b ‘Dinner-crazed, with the eyes of a fawn, but with a heart unmoved !’ Now Ctesibius could hit the nail on the head and provoke laughter by his wit, consequently he was always being invited to dinners ; not like you, Cynic, who have never won the favour of the Muses, to say nothing of the Graces. At any rate, Virtue avoids you and those like you, and takes her seat by the side of Pleasure, as Mnasaclces of Sicyon phrases it in epigrammatic verses : ‘I, unhappy Virtue, have taken my seat here beside Pleasure, my curly locks shorn in direst disgrace, my soul caught in the meshes of heavy grief, because insane Joy has been preferred to me.’ And the comic poet Baton says in *The Murderer*^c : ‘I summon hither the philosophers who are sober, who never give themselves a single good thing, who look for the wise man in their walks^d and talks, as for one who has run away. Man accursed, why, when you have the money to pay, do you stay sober ? Why do such injury to the gods ? Why, fellow, have you deemed money more precious than yourself or than it is by nature ? You are a dead loss to the community if you drink water ; for you wrong the farmer and the merchant. But I, when I drink wine to the full, make their profits

^a Frag. 30 Wachsmuth, 188 Diels, parodying *Il.* 1. 225. “Eyes of a fawn” refers to the restless look of the parasite hunting for a dinner. See crit. note. ^c Kock iii. 326.

^b Lit. “paths” of such groves as the Lyceum, where philosophers gathered ; hence “Peripatetic,” used of Aristotle’s school.

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ἔπειθ' ἔωθεν περιάγεις τὴν λήκυθον
καταμανθάνων τοῦλαιον, ὥστε περιφέρειν
ώρολόγιον δόξεις τι,¹ οὐχὶ λήκυθον.—

Ἄρχέστρατος δέ, ὁ Κύνουλκε, ὃν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὁμῆδον προσκυνεῖς διὰ τὴν γαστέρα—“ἢς οὐ λαμπρώτερον οὐδέν,” ὁ Τίμων σου—περὶ τοῦ κυνὸς τοῦ θαλαττίου ἴστορῶν γράφει καὶ ταῦτα.

ἀλλ’ οὐ πολλοὶ ἵσασι βροτῶν τόδε θεῖον ἔδεσμα
οὐδὲ ἔσθειν ἐθέλουσιν, ὅσοι κεφαττελεβώδη²
ψυχὴν κέκτηνται θυητῶν εἰσὶν τ’ ἀπόπληκτοι,
ὡς ἀνθρωποφάγου τοῦ θηρίου ὄντος· ἅπας δὲ
ἰχθὺς σάρκα φιλεῖ βροτέην, ἂν που περικύρσῃ.
ώστε πρέπει καθαρῶς ὅπόσοι τάδε μωρολογοῦσι
τοῖς λαχάνοις προσάγειν καὶ πρὸς Διόδωρον ἴοντας
e τὸν σοφὸν ἐγκρατέως μετ’ ἐκείνου πυθαγορίζειν.

ἥν δ’ ὁ Διόδωρος οὗτος τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσπένδιος,
Πυθαγορικὸς δὲ δόξας εἶναι ὑμῶν τῶν κυνικῶν τρόπον ἔξη,
κομῶν καὶ ρύπων καὶ ἀνυποδητῶν. ὅθεν
καὶ Πυθαγορικὸν τὸ τῆς κόμης ἔδοξαν εἶναι τινες
ἀπὸ τοῦ Διοδώρου προαχθέν, ὡς φησιν Ἐρμιππος.
Τίμαιος δ’ ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἴστοριῶν
περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει οὕτως “Διοδώρου τοῦ τὸ
γένος Ἀσπενδίου τὴν ἔξηλλαγμένην εἰσαγαγόντος
κατασκευὴν καὶ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις πεπλησιακέναι

¹ δόξεις τι Bergk: δόξει τις A.

² ἐθέλουσιν ὅσοι κεφαττελεβώδη Bentley εθέλουσ’ ὅσοι
κούφην τε λεβώδη A.

good. Yet you carry about your jug from early morning, looking to see if there is oil in it; whence one would think that you carry about a water-clock, not a jug! ^a

"As I was saying,^b Cynulcus: Archestratus, whom you worship, for your belly's sake, on a par with Homer—'and there is nothing more voracious than that,' to quote your friend Timon^c—writes as follows an account of the shark^d: 'Nay, not many mortals know of this heavenly viand or consent to eat it—all those mortals, that is, who possess the puny soul of the booby-bird^e and are smitten with palsy because, as they say, the creature is a man-eater. But every fish loves human flesh if it can but get it. Wherefore it is the simple duty of all who talk such foolishness to betake themselves to vegetables, and going over to the philosopher Diodorus, to live abstemiously like Pythagoreans in his company.' Now this Diodorus was an Aspendian by birth, and though he was reputed to be a Pythagorean, he lived in the manner of you Cynics, wearing his hair long, and going dirty and bare-footed. Hence some have even thought that this habit of wearing long hair was Pythagorean, having been promulgated by Diodorus, as Hermippus says.^f And Timaeus of Tauromenium, in the ninth book of his *Histories*,^g writes about him thus: 'Diodorus, the Aspendian by birth, introduced the eccentric mode of life, and pretended that he had consorted is also parsimonious, looks to the contents of his oil-jug as anxiously as a man of business would at a clock.'

^b 162 b. ^c Frag. 56 Wachsmuth, 186 Diels; cf. 279 f.

^d Frag. 28 Ribbeck, 23 Brandt, cf. 310 c-e.

^e Lit. "soul of a wingless-locust-booby."

^f F.H.G. iii. 42.

^g Ibid. i. 211.

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ὶ προσποιηθέντος· πρὸς δὲ ἐπιστέλλων δὲ Στρατόνικος ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀπαίροντα τὸ ρῆθὲν ἀπαγγεῖλαι

τῷ περὶ θηροπέπλου μανίας ὕβρεώς τε περιστάσιμον

στοὰν ἔχοντι Πυθαγόρου πελάτᾳ.

Σωσικράτης δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ φιλοσόφῳ διαδοχῆς βαθεῖ πώγωνι χρήσασθαι τὸν Διόδωρον ἴστορεῖ καὶ τρίβωνα ἀναλαβεῖν κόμην τε φορῆσαι¹ κατά τινα τῦφον τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ταύτην προσαγαγόντα,² τῶν πρὸ 164 αὐτοῦ Πυθαγορικῶν λαμπρᾶ τε ἐσθῆτι ἀμφιεννυμένων καὶ λουτροῖς καὶ ἀλεύμασι κουρῷ τε τῇ συνήθει χρωμένων εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς ὅντως, ὡς φιλόσοφοι, τὴν αὐτάρκειαν ἀσπάζεσθε καὶ τὰ τῶν δείπνων εὔτελῆ, τέλον ἐνταῦθα παραγίνεσθε μηδὲ κληθέντες; ἢ ὡς εἰς ἀσώτιον μαγειρικὰ σκεύη καταλέγειν μαθησόμενοι; ἢ ὡς τὸν Διογένους³ Κεφαλίωνα ἀποστοματιοῦντες; κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Σοφοκλέους Κηδαλίωνά ἔστε

μαστιγίαι, κέντρωνες, ἀλλοτριοφάγοι.

b "Οτι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι περὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἀεὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχετε, δέον ὑμᾶς ἐπιφαγεῖν⁴ αὐτῆσαι ἢ ἐπεσθίειν τι τῶν κυνικῶν βρωμάτων (οὐδὲ γὰρ "χαριτογλωσσεῖν" ἡμᾶς θέμις), δῆλον ἐξ ὧν καὶ "Αλεξίς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Λίνῳ ἴστορεῖ ὑποτίθεται δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα παρὰ τῷ Λίνῳ παιδευόμενον καὶ

¹ After φορῆσαι AC add καὶ deleted by Schweighauser

² προσαγαγόντα AC. προσαγαγόντα Schw.. εἰσαγαγόντα Meineke ³ Διογένους Reines ἀθηνογένους A.

⁴ τι after ἐπιφαγεῖν deleted by Kaibel, cf 169 a

^a The "Painted Porch" in Athens, meeting-place of the Stoics ^b On the title of 162 e, note.

as a disciple with the Pythagoreans; to him Stratonicus dispatched a messenger, bidding the man as he departed to report his commands "to that henchman of Pythagoras who keeps the Porch^a crowded with people marvelling at his beast-robed madness and insolence."^b Sosocrates, too, in the third book of *The Succession of Philosophers*,^b records that Diodorus adopted the wearing of a long beard, put on a worn cloak, and grew long hair, introducing this practice as an innovation in order to gratify a kind of vanity, since the Pythagoreans before his time always dressed in white^c clothing and made use of baths, ointments, and the customary mode of hair-cut. Now if, my philosophers, you really love independence and cheap things to eat, why do you come here where you have not even been invited? Is it as though you had come into a prodigal's house to learn how to make a list of cooking utensils? Or to recite the *Cephalion* of Diogenes? For, in the words of the *Cedalion* of Sophocles,^d ye are 'rogues from the whipping-post and the rack, devourers of other men's goods.'

"But that you philosophers always have your minds on dinners, when you ought to ask for something in the way of Cynic food to eat up or devour (for it were not lawful for me 'to use pleasing terms'),"^e is plain from what Alexis tells in the play entitled *Linus*. He imagines Heracles as being educated in the house of Linus and as having been bidden to

^a Lit. "bright"; cf. Polybius x. 5. 1, where λαμπρὰ ἐσθῆτες is used of the *toga candida*, and Iamblichus xxii. 100, where the Pythagoreans' dress is called λευκή.

^b T.G.F.² 202, one title suggests the other, in a kind of pun. ^c Cf. 165 c

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κελευσθέντα ἀπὸ βιβλίων πολλῶν παρακειμένων λαβόντα ἐντυχεῖν. ἐκεῖνος δ' ὁφαρτυτικὸν λαβὼν βιβλίον ἐν χεροῦν περισπουδάστως ἐκράτει. λέγει δὲ οὗτος ὁ Λίνος.

- βιβλίον
- ἐντεῦθεν ὅ τι βούλει προσελθὼν γάρ λαβέ-
- c ἔπειτ' ἀναγνώσει πάνυ γε διασκοπῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἀτρέμα τε καὶ σχολῆ. Ὁρφεὺς ἔνεστιν, Ἡσίοδος, τραγῳδίαι, Χοιρίλος, Ὄμηρος, Ἐπίχαρμος, συγγράμματα παντοδαπά. δηλώσεις γάρ οὕτω τὴν φύσιν ἐπὶ τί μάλισθ' ὥρμηκε. ΗΡ. τουτὶ λαμβάνω. ΛΙΝ. δεῖξον τί ἔστι πρῶτον. ΗΡ. ὁφαρτυσία, ὡς φησι τούπιγραμμα. ΛΙΝ. φιλόσοφός τις εἰ, εὔδηλον, ὃς παρεὶς τοσαῦτα γράμματα
- d Σίμου τέχνην ἔλαβεις. ΗΡ. ὁ Σίμος δ' ἔστι τις; ΛΙΝ. μάλ' εὐφυὴς ἄνθρωπος. ἐπὶ τραγῳδίαν ὥρμηκε νῦν καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποκριτῶν πολὺν κράτιστός ἔστιν ὁφοποιός, ὡς δοκεῖ τοῖς χρωμένοις, τῶν δ' ὁφοποιῶν ὑποκριτής κάκιστός ἔστι τοῖς θεωμένοις . . .¹ ΛΙΝ. βούλιμός ἔσθ' ἄνθρωπος. ΗΡ. ὅτι βούλει λέγε· πεινῶ γάρ, εὖ τοῦτ' ἵσθι."

Ταῦτα τοῦ Μάγνου ἔξῆς καταδραμόντος ἀποβλέψας ὁ Κύνουλκος εἰς τοὺς παρόντας τῶν φιλόσοφων ἔφη.

- e "εἶδες τὴν Θασίαν ἄλμην οἵ ἄττα βαῦζει,

¹ κάκιστός ἔστι τοῖς θεωμένοις added by Gulick, but more is lost.

select from a large number of books lying beside him and read. So he picked up a book on cookery and held it in both hands very carefully. Linus^a speaks : ' Go up and take whatever book from there you wish ; then looking very carefully at the titles, quietly and at your leisure, you shall read. Orpheus is there, Hesiod, tragedies, Choerilus, Homer, Epicharmus, histories of all sorts For thus shall you show the bent of your nature. HER. This is the one I shall take. LI. Tell me first what it is. HER. Cookery, as the title declares. LI. You are a philosopher^b that's very plain ; for, paying no attention to all these other writings, you have picked the treatise of Simus. HER. Simus, who's he ? LI. A very talented fellow. At present he is keen for tragedy, and of all actors he is much the best cook, in the opinion of those who hire him, but of cooks he is the worst possible actor, as the audience think . . .^c LIN The fellow has a morbid hunger. HER. Say what you like of me. I am hungry, let me tell you ! '''

After Magnus had recited these quotations^d in order. Cynulcus addressed the philosophers present : " As Cratinus said in *The Archilochi (Satirists)*^e : ' You have seen what sort of insults that Thasian

^a Kock ii. 345.

^b i.e. a man of discernment.

^c See critical note. The next remark of Linus is occasioned by watching Heracles read recipes as eagerly as he would eat the food. Heracles and Linus play here the rôles of Oliver Twist and Squeers.

^d From 160 d.

^e Kock i. 13. Archilochus himself and his bitter invective are here referred to. His father led a colony to Thasos off the coast of Thrace. " The blind to the deaf " seems to be a proverb of an ignorant person instructing a stupid one.

ώς εν καὶ ταχέως ἀπετείσατο καὶ παραχρῆμα.
οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς ἔοικε λαλῆσαι,

ώς ὁ Κρατῦνος ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχιλόχοις ἔφη ἐπι-
λανθανόμενος γάρ ἐν οἷς ποιεῖται δικαστηρίοις τῶν
καλῶν ἕμβων αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύ-
του γαστριμαργύιας καὶ ἡδυλογίας κολάβρους¹ ἀνα-
γινώσκει καὶ “μέλη πάραυλα κάκροτητα κύμβαλα.”
f καὶ μετὰ τὰς καλὰς ταύτας ἀμονοσολογίας περι-
έρχεται τὰς οἰκίας ἔξετάζων ὅπου δεῖπνα λαμπρὰ
παρασκευάζεται, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Χαιρεφῶντα
ἐκεῖνον, περὶ οὗ φησιν “Ἀλεξίς ἐν Φυγάδι·

αἱεί γ' ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τιν' εὑρίσκει τέχνην.
καὶ νῦν πορίζεται γε τὰ δεῖπν' ἀσύμβολα.
ὅπου γάρ ἔστιν ὁ κέραμος μισθώσιμος
ὅ τοῖς μαγείροις, εὐθὺς² ἔξ ἔωθινοῦ
ἔστηκεν ἐλθών· κανὸν ἵδη μισθούμενον
165 εἰς ἔστιασιν, τοῦ μαγείρου πυθόμενος
τὸν ἔστιῶντα, τῆς θύρας χασμωμένης
ἄν ἐπιλάβηται, πρῶτος εἰσελήγῃσθεν

οὐκ ὀκνεῖ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ καλὸς
Μάγνος, καὶ ὑπερορίους ἀποδημίας ποιεῖσθαι
τῆς γαστρὸς χάριν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξίς εἴρηκεν
ἐν Συναποθνήσκουσιν.

ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς Κόρινθον ἐλθὼν Χαιρεφῶν
ἄκλητος· ἥδη γάρ πέτεται διαπόντιος.
οὕτω τι τάλλοτρι³ ἔσθίειν ἔστι γλυκύ.

b καὶ Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν Ὁδυσσεῖ ἔφη

Εὔριπίδου τᾶρ' ἔστιν⁴ οὐ κακῶς ἔχον,
τάλλοτρια δειπνεῖν τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα.”

pickle barks at us—how neatly and speedily he got his revenge without delay. He is not like the blind talking uselessly to the deaf, let me tell you.' For, oblivious of the court before whom he delivers the display of his clever iambics, and impelled by his native desire to satisfy his belly and his love of jesting, he gives us a recital of wild songs and 'lays discordantly piped and cymbals struck untimely.'^a And after these nice exhibitions of poor taste he goes about from house to house looking to see where brilliant dinners are preparing, outdoing the poor devil Chaerephon of Athens, of whom Alexis says in *The Refugee*^b: 'Chaerephon is always inventing some trick; in fact, at this very moment he is trying to get himself dinners for which he pays nothing. For where crockery is exposed for cooks to hire, there he goes, at earliest dawn, and takes his stand; and if he sees it being let out for an entertainment, he learns from the cook who the entertainer is, and if he can but find the front door open wide, he is the first to enter.' And this man, like our noble Magnus, does not hesitate to undertake foreign travel to gratify his appetite; so says the same Alexis in *Dying Together*^c. 'To get a dinner Chaerephon went uninvited to Corinth, yes, by this time he is flying overseas; so pleasant a thing it is to eat others' food.' And Theopompus said in *Odysseus*^d: 'The saying of Euripides is not half bad—the really fortunate man dines on others' food'''

^a T.G.F.² 857, Kock III 616.

^b Kock II. 391, cf. Athen. 229 b.

^c Kock II. 374, Plautus wrote a play entitled *Commorientes*. ^d Kock I 743, T.G.F.² 647.

¹ κολάρους Casaubon · κολαρούς A

² εὐθὺς Porson · εὐθέως A. ³ τἄρ' εστιν Meineke: τάριστον A.

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Γελασάντων οὖν πάντων ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· “πόθεν δὲ καὶ ἡδυλογία τοῖς ἥδονικοῖς τούτοις ἀμαρτολόγοις;” πρὸς δὲν δὲ Κύνουλκος· “ἀλλ’, ὁ χοιρίον εὐάρτυτον, Φρύνιχος δὲ κωμῳδιοποὺς ἐν τῷ Ἐφιάλτῃ μνημονεύει τοῦ ἡδυλογεῦν¹ διὰ τούτων.

ἐστὶν δὲ αὐτούς γε φυλάττεσθαι τῶν νῦν χαλεπώτατον ἔργον.

- c ἔχουσι γάρ τι κέντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις,
μισάνθρωπον ἀνθος ἥβης.
εἴθ’ ἡδυλογοῦσιν ἄπασιν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν
περιόντες,
ἐπὶ τοῖς δε² βάθροις ὅταν ὁσιν, ἐκεῖ τούτοις οἱς
ἡδυλογοῦσι
μεγάλας ἀμυχὰς καταμύξαντες καὶ συγκρούσαντες³
ἄπαντες
γελῶσι.

τὸ δὲ χαριτογλωσσεῦν Αἰσχύλος εἴρηκεν ἐν Προμηθεῖ δεσμώτῃ.

- d γνώσει δὲ τάδ’ ὡς ἔτυμος, οὐδὲ μάτην
χαριτογλωσσεῦν ἔνι μοι.”

Πάλιν τε εἰπόντος τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ· “τίνα δὲ
ἐστὶν, ἀνδρες φίλοι, τὰ μαγειρικὰ σκεύη; τούτων
γάρ ἐμνημόνευσαν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς δείπνοις
μνήμης ἡξιωμένων. καὶ τὸ ἀσώτιον ποῦ κεῖται;
ἀσώτους μὲν γάρ οἶδα διαβοήτους· ἔνα μὲν οὐ
μνημονεύειν “Αλεξίς ἐν Κυνδίᾳ·

¹ ἡδυλογεῦν Kaisel : ἡδιλόγων A.

² δὲ added by Meineke.

³ συγκρούσαντες Kaisel : συγκρύψαντες A.

When, then, all had laughed at this, Ulpian spoke : “ That word for ‘ jesting’^a—where did these solecistic voluptuaries get it ? ” Cynulcus answered him . “ Why, ‘ you well-seasoned pig,’ the comic poet Phrynicus, in *Ephialtes*,^b mentions jesting in these lines . ‘ Of all the jobs we now have to do, the hardest is to protect oneself from them. For they have a kind of sting in their fingers,^c the flower of man-haters’ prime. When they go about the market-place they always speak suavely to all ; but when they are seated on the benches,^d there they all tear great scratches in those to whom they speak so suavely, and with one consent deride them.’ But the expression, ‘ use pleasing terms,’ is employed by Aeschylus in *Prometheus Bound*^e : ‘ Thou shalt know that this is verily so, nor is it in me to use pleasing terms.’ ”

Again Ulpian said “ What, my friends, are the utensils used by cooks ? ” For they had mentioned these as worthy of notice in the account of the Arcadian dinners.^f “ And where is that word ‘ prodigal’s house’^g ? I know indeed of some notorious prodigals. One is mentioned by Alexis in *The Woman of Cnidus*^h . ‘ That scamp Diodorus, in

^a ἡδυλογία, of Archilochus in 164 e.

^b Kock i. 370 ; the verb ἡδυλογεῖν properly means “ to speak suavely ”, but since “ suave ” could scarcely be applied to Archilochus, Cynulcus takes ἡδυλογία and ἡδυλογεῖν in the sense of “ pleasantries,” “ witticisms ”

^c i.e. the finger of scorn, pointed by the youngsters at their elders.

^d In a courtroom or at a lecture. ^e l 297, cf. 164 b.

^f 149 a.

^g 164 a.

^h Kock ii. 383 ; “ made a ball of ” is equivalent to “ played battledore and shuttlecock with ” The figure changes in the last line.

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Διόδωρος οὐπίτριπτος ἐν ἔτεσιν δύο
σφαῖραν ἀπέδειξε τὴν πατρῷαν οὐσίαν·
οὗτας ἵταμῶς ἅπαντα κατεμασήσατο.

ε ἐν δὲ Φαιδρῷ φησί

σχολῆ γε, τὴν τὸν ἥλιον, σχολῆ λέγεις.
Ἐπιχαριδῆς δὲ μικρὸς ἐν πένθῳ ἡμέραις
σφαῖραν ἐποίησε τὴν πατρῷαν οὐσίαν·
οὗτας συνεστρόγγυλεν ἵταμῶς καὶ ταχύ.

καὶ Κτήσιππος δὲ δὲ Χαβρίου υἱὸς εἰς τοσοῦτον
ἥλθεν ἀσωτίας ὡς καὶ τοῦ μνήματος τοῦ πατρός,
εἰς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι χιλίας ὀνάλωσαν δραχμάς, τοὺς
λίθους πωλῆσαι εἰς τὰς ἥδυπαθείας. Δίφιλος γοῦν
ἐν τοῖς Ἐναγίζουσί φησι.

f εὶς μὴ συνήθης, Φαιδίμῳ, ὃν¹ ἐτύγχανεν
δὲ Χαβρίου Κτήσιππος, εἰσηγησάμην
νόμον διν² τιν' οὐκ ἄχρηστον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
ώστ' ἐπιτελεσθῆναι ποτ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς
τὸ μνῆμα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔνα . . . λίθον
ἀμαξιαῖον, καὶ σφόδρ' εὐτελὲς λέγω

Τιμοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Δημοσατύροις φησίν·

οὐδὲ δὲ Χαβρίου Κτήσιππος ἔτι τρὶς κείρεται,
166 ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶ λαμπρός, οὐκ ἐν ἀνδράσιν.
καὶ Μένανδρος δὲ ἐν Ὁργῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγει·

καίτοι νέος ποτ' ἐγενόμην κάγω, γύναι·
ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐλούμην πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας
τότ', ἀλλὰ νῦν· οὐδὲ χλανίδ' εἶχον, ἀλλὰ νῦν
οὐδὲ μύρον εἶχον, ἀλλὰ νῦν· καὶ βάψομαι
καὶ παρατιλοῦμαι νὴ Δία καὶ γενῆσομαι

¹ Φαιδίμῳ, ὃν Dobree: Φαιδίμῳ γ' A.

only two years, has made a football of his patrimony, so rashly has he chewed up all that he had.' And in *Phaedrus*^a he says 'Slowly indeed, yes, by the sun, slowly, you say ! That little Epicharides in five days has made a football of his patrimony, so rashly and speedily has he squeezed it up into a ball.' And Ctesippus also, the son of Chabrias, went so far in his prodigality that, to indulge in his pleasures, he actually sold the stones of his father's monument, on which Athens had spent a thousand drachmas. At any rate, Diphilus says in *Worshippers of the Dead*^b: "If, Phaedimus, Ctesippus, son of Chabrias, had not happened to be a friend, I should have proposed a law not unuseful, in my opinion—that his father's monument should be some day completed, one stone at a time each year, each large enough to fill a cart, and very cheap material too, say I' Timocles in *Satyrs of the People*^c says: 'No longer does even Ctesippus, son of Chabrias, shave three times a day, bright spark among the ladies, but not among true men.' And Menander says this about him in *Temperament*^d: 'And yet, wife, I too was once a young man, but in those days I did not bathe five times a day. Now I do I did not own a fine cloak either. Now I do. Nor did I have perfume. Now I have And I will have my hair dyed, yes, Zeus be my witness, I will pluck myself smooth, and in a little while I will become Ctesippus

^a Kock u. 387, the first line is ironical. Cf 58 a

^b More properly 'Εὐαγγεῖλαστι, *Offerings to the Dead*, Kock ii. 552.

^c Kock ii. 452.

^d Or *Anger*. Kock iii. 105, Allinson 416. The first play of Menander which won him a victory (315 b c). See Capps, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xxi. 60.

² ἀν added by Kock

ATHENAEUS

b Κτήσιππος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπος, ἐν δλίγω χρόνῳ,
καὶ οὗτος ἐκεῖνος κατέδομαι καὶ τοὺς λίθους
ἀπαξάπαντας, οὐ γὰρ οὖν τὴν γῆν μόνην.

τάχ' οὖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην ἀσωτίαν καὶ
κιναιδίαν τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ παρέλυπε Δημοσθένης
ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀτελειῶν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς τὰ πατρῷα
κατεδηδοκότας κατὰ τὸν Μενάνδρου Ναύκληρον
οὕτως κολάζεσθαι φησὶν γάρ.

ω̄ φιλτάτη Γῆ μῆτερ, ω̄ σεμινὸν σφόδρ' εἰ
τοῦς νοῦν ἔχουσι κτῆμα πολλοῦ τ' ἄξιον.
ω̄ς δῆτ' ἔχρην εἴ τις πατρῷαν παραλαβὼν
c γῆν καταφάγοι, πλεῦν τοῦτον ἥδη διὰ τέλους
καὶ μηδ' ἐπιβαίνειν γῆς, ὦν οὕτως ἥσθετο
οἷον παραλαβὼν ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἐφείσατο.

Πυθοδήλου δέ τινος ἀσώτου μνημονεύει Ἀξιό-
νικος ἐν Τυρρηνῷ οὕτως

δ Πυθόδηλος οὔτοι
δ̄ Βαλλίων¹ προσέρχετ' ἐπικαλούμενος,
μεθύουσά τ' ἔξόπισθεν ἡ σοφωτάτη
Ἀποτυμπανισχάς² κατὰ πόδας πορεύεται.

d Πολύευκτον δ' Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Τηρεῖ κωμῳδῶν·
ὅρνις κεκλήσῃ (φησὶ). β. διὰ τί, πρὸς τῆς Ἐστίας;
πότερον καταφαγῶν τὴν πατρῷαν οὔσιαν,
ῶσπερ Πολύευκτος δὲ καλός; α. οὐ δῆτ', ἀλλ' ὅτι
ἄρρην ὑπὸ θηλειῶν κατεκόπης.

Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν,
ἀφ' ἣς τινες τὸ τελευταῖον μέρος χωρίσαντες,

¹ οὔτοις δὲ Βαλλίων Elmsley and Dobree: οὗτος Ισοβαλλίων A.

² ἀποτυμπανισχάς A: πρὸς (Fritzsche) or περὶ (Herwerden)
τύμπαν' Ἰσχάς (?), “Ischas, clever at the tambourine.”

and not a man, and then, like him, I will eat up the very stones, every one of them ; at any rate I won't eat my land and nothing else.' It may be, then, that on account of this great extravagance and licentiousness Demosthenes omitted naming him in the speech *On Exemptions*^a. Men who have devoured their inheritances ought to be punished in the way described in Menander's *Skipper*^b. 'O dearest mother earth, how very reverend a possession, and beyond price, art thou in the eyes of sensible men! For it were only right, of course, that anyone who had inherited an ancestral estate and then devoured it should from that time on for ever sail the seas, and never so much as set foot on land, that he might thus come to see how good a thing he had inherited but failed to save.'

"A prodigal named Pythodelus is mentioned by Axionicus in *The Etruscan*^c thus : 'Here comes Pythodelus, surnamed the Dancer, and close at his heels behind him comes reeling that clever girl, Bastinado-fig'^d. And Anaxandrides holds up Polyeuctus to ridicule in *Tereus*.^e He says. 'A You shall bear the name Rooster.—B Why, in the name of the hearth goddess? Is it because I have eaten up my father's property, as the noble Polyeuctus did? A. No, of course not; it's because you, a male, have been pecked to pieces by females.' Theopompus, in the tenth book of his *History of Philip*^f (though some deny the authenticity of the last part, dealing

^a *Orat* 20.^b Kock iii 102, Allinson 414.^c Kock ii. 412.^d *Ischas*, "dried fig," was a courtesan's name. See crit. note.^e Kock ii. 156.^f *F.H.G* 1. 293.

ATHENAEUS

ἐν ᾧ ἔστι τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγῶν, . . .
 Εὐβουλόν φησι τὸν δημαγωγὸν ἀσωτον γενέσθαι.
 ε τῇ λέξει δὲ ταύτῃ ἔχρήσατο· ‘καὶ τοσοῦτον
 ἀσωτίᾳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ διενήνοχε τοῦ δήμου τοῦ
 Ταραντίνων ὅσον ὁ μὲν περὶ τὰς ἔστιάσεις εἶχε
 μόνον ἀκρατῶς, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς
 προσόδους καταμισθοφορῶν διατετέλεκε. Καλλί-
 στρατος δέ, φησίν, ὁ Καλλικράτους δημαγωγὸς
 καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἡδονὰς ἦν ἀκρατής,
 τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ἐπιμελῆς.’ περὶ
 δὲ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἴστορῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ
 καὶ¹ πεντηκοστῇ τῶν ἴστοριῶν γράφει οὕτως· ‘ἡ
 πόλις ἡ τῶν Ταραντίνων σχεδὸν καθ’ ἔκαστον
 μῆνα βουθυτεῖ καὶ δημοσίας² ἔστιάσεις ποιεῖται.
 f τὸ δὲ τῶν ἴδιωτῶν πλῆθος αἱὲι περὶ συνουσίας
 καὶ πότους ἔστι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τινα τοιοῦτον
 λόγον οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους
 διὰ τὸ φιλοπονεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐργασίας
 διατρίβειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ζῆν, αὐτοὺς δὲ διὰ
 τὰς συνουσίας καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ μέλλειν, ἀλλ’
 ἥδη βιώναι.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀσωτίας καὶ τοῦ βίου Φιλίππου
 καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ μθ’ τῶν ἴστοριῶν ὁ
 167 Θεόπομπος τάδε γράφει· ‘Φιλίππος ἐπεὶ ἐγκρατής
 πολλῶν ἐγένετο χρημάτων οὐκ ἀνάλωσεν αὐτὰ
 ταχέως, ἀλλ’ ἐξέβαλε καὶ ἔρριψε, πάντων ἀνθρώπων
 κάκιστος ὃν οἰκονόμος οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπλῶς γάρ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡπίστατο
 ζῆν ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ σωφρόνως οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν. τοῦ
 δὲ³ αὐτὸς αἴτιος ἦν ἀπληστος καὶ πολυτελῆς

¹ καὶ added by Kaibel.

² δημοσίας Benseler: δημοσίᾳ A.

³ τοῦ δ' A: τούτου Dobree.

with the popular leaders at Athens)—says that the popular leader Eubulus was a prodigal. The language he used is as follows : ‘ To such an extent has he outdone the people of Tarentum in extravagance and greed, that whereas they were intemperate simply in the matter of banquets, he has made a constant practice of spending even the revenues of Athens to hire mercenaries. But Callistratus, he continues, the son of Callicrates, likewise a popular leader, though he was intemperate in personal indulgence, was careful of the public interests.’ And recording the history of Tarentum in the fifty-second book of his *Histories*^a he writes as follows : ‘ The city of Tarentum offers sacrifices of oxen and holds public banquets nearly every month. The mass of common people is always busy with parties and drinking-bouts. And the Tarentines have a saying of some such purport as this, that whereas the rest of the world, in their devotion to work and their preoccupation with various forms of industry, are always preparing to live, they themselves, with their parties and their pleasures, do not put off living, but live already.’

“ Concerning the extravagance and mode of life of Philip and his companions Theopompus writes the following in the forty-ninth book of the *Histories*^b ‘ After Philip had become possessor of a large fortune he did not spend it fast. No ! he threw it outdoors and cast it away, being the worst manager in the world. This was true of his companions as well as himself. For to put it unqualifiedly, not one of them knew how to live uprightly or to manage an estate discreetly. He himself was to blame for this ; being insatiable and extravagant, he did everything

^a F.H.G. I. 322.

^b Ibid. I. 320.

ATHENAEUS

ῶν, προχείρως ἄπαντα ποιῶν καὶ κτώμενος
 καὶ διδούς. στρατιώτης γὰρ ὁν λογίζεσθαι τὰ
 προσιόντα καὶ τάναλισκόμενα δι' ἀσχόλιαν οὐκ
 b ήδύνατο. ἔπειτα δ' οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἐκ πολλῶν
 τόπων ἥσαν συνερρυηκότες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς
 τῆς χώρας, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, οὐκ ἀριστήδην ἐξειλεγμένοι,
 ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάροις
 λάσταυρος ἢ βδελυρὸς ἢ θρασὺς τὸν τρόπον,
 οὗτοι σχεδὸν ἄπαντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀθροισθέντες
 c ἑταῖροι Φιλίππου προσηγορεύοντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
 τοιοῦτός τις ὅν¹ ἐληλύθει, ὑπὸ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς
 διαίτης τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ταχέως ἐκείνοις ὅμοιος
 e ἐγίνετο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι καὶ αἱ στρατεῖαι,
 τὰ δὲ² καὶ αἱ πολυτέλειαι θρασεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι
 προετρέποντο καὶ ζῆν μὴ κοσμίως, ἀλλ' ἀσώτως
 καὶ τοῖς λησταῖς παραπλησίως.'

Δοῦρις δ' ἐν ζ' Μακεδονικῶν περὶ Πασικύπρου
 λέγων τοῦ ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλέως ὅτι ἀσωτος ἦν
 γράφει καὶ τάδε· ‘Αλέξανδρος μετὰ τὴν Τύρου
 πολιορκίαν Πυνταγόραν ἀποστέλλων ἄλλας τε
 δωρεὰς ἔδωκε καὶ χωρίον δὲ τήσατο. πρότερον
 d δὲ τοῦτο Πασίκυπρος δὲ βασιλεύων ἀπέδοτο δι'
 ἀσωτίαν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων Πυγμαλίων³ τῷ
 Κιτιεῖ, ἃμα τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν·
 καὶ λαβὼν τὰ χρήματα κατεγήρασεν ἐν Ἀμα-
 θοῦντι· τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰθίοψ δὲ Κορίνθιος,

¹ ὅν added by Meineke.

² τὰ δὲ added by Villebrun.

³ Πυγμαλίωνι Kaihel: πυμάτων AC. Cf. Diod. xix. 79. 4.

in a reckless manner, whether he was acquiring or giving. For as a soldier he had no time to count up revenues and expenditures. Add to this also that his companions were men who had rushed to his side from very many quarters ; some were from the land to which he himself belonged,^a others were from Thessaly, still others were from all the rest of Greece, selected not for their supreme merit ; on the contrary, nearly every man in the Greek or barbarian world of a lecherous, loathsome, or ruffianly character flocked to Macedonia and won the title of "companions of Philip." And even supposing that one of them was not of this sort when he came, he soon became like all the rest, under the influence of the Macedonian life and habits. It was partly the wars and campaigns, partly also the extravagances of living that incited them to be ruffians, and live, not in a law-abiding spirit, but prodigally and like highwaymen.'

"Duris, in the seventh book of his *Macedonian History*,^b speaking of Pasicyprus, king of Cyprus, and his prodigality, writes the following : 'After the siege of Tyre, Alexander, in dismissing Pnytagoras, gave him among other presents a fortress which he himself had asked for. This fortress the reigning king Pasicyprus had before this been compelled by his extravagance to sell for fifty talents to Pygmalion of Citium ; along with the fortress went his kingdom too. Pasicyprus took the money and passed his old age in Amathus.' Another spendthrift of this sort, according to Demetrius of Skepsis,^c

^a Macedonia ; "the land itself," "the very land," a curious expression for "his own land."

^b F.H.G. ii. 472.

^c Frag. 73 Gaede.

ATHENAEUS

ώς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος, οὗ μνημονεύει
 'Αρχίλοχος. ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γάρ καὶ ἀκρασίας
 καὶ οὐτος μετ' Ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικελίαν δτ'
 ἔμελλεν κτίζειν Συρακούσας τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσσίτῳ
 μελιτούττης ἀπέδοτο τὸν κλῆρον δὲν ἐν Συρακούσαις
 λαχῶν ἔμελλεν ἔξειν. ' εἰς τοσούτον δ' ἀσωτίας
 οἱ ἐληλύθει καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως
 ἀπόγονος, ὡς φησιν 'Ηγήσανδρος, ὥστε Ἀριστ-
 αγόραν μὲν ἔχειν τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐρωμένην, ζῆν
 δὲ πολυτελῶς. ἀνακαλεσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν
 Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν καὶ κελευσόντων βέλτιον ζῆν, ' ἀλλὰ
 καὶ νῦν, εἶπεν, ἐλευθερίας ζῶ. καὶ γάρ ἑταίραν
 ἔχω τὴν καλλίστην καὶ ἀδικῶ οὐδένα καὶ πίνω
 Χίον οἶνον καὶ τᾶλλ' ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζομαι,
 τῶν ιδίων μου προσόδων εἰς ταῦτα ἐκποιουσῶν,
 οὐ καθάπερ νῦμῶν ἔνιοι δεκαζόμενος ζῶ καὶ
 μοιχεύων.' καὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πραττόντων
 καὶ ἐπ' ὄνόματός τινας κατέλεξε. ταῦτα δ'
 ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς θεσμοθέτην αὐτὸν
 κατέστησεν. τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἵππαρχος ὃν
 ἱκρίον ἔστησε πρὸς τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς Ἀρισταγόρᾳ μετεω-
 ρότερον τῶν Ἐρμῶν, Ἐλευσῖνί τε μυστηρίων
 ὄντων ἔθηκεν αὐτῇ θρόνον παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον,
 οἵμωξεσθαι φήσας τοὺς κωλύσοντας''

168 "Οτι δὲ τοὺς ἀσώτους καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἔκ τινος
 περιουσίας ζῶντας τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνεκαλοῦντο οἱ

^a P.L.G.⁴ frag. 145; Aethiops ("Swarthy") is the Esau ("Hairy") of Greek history. Both got their names from bodily peculiarities.

^b F.H.G. iv. 415.

^c Antigonus Gonatas, Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, ii. 223.

was Aethiops of Corinth, who is mentioned by Archilochus.^a For, pleasure-loving and lacking self-control, he, when sailing with Archias to Sicily at the time when Archias was going to found Syracuse, sold to his messmate for a honey-cake the share which he had drawn by lot and was to have in Syracuse. ‘ Demetrius, the grandson of Demetrius of Phalerum,’ as Hegesander^b says, ‘ went to such extremes of prodigality that he kept Aristagora of Corinth as his mistress and lived sumptuously. And when the Areopagites summoned him before them and bade him live a better life, he replied, “ But I am living as becomes a man of breeding as it is. For I have a mistress who is very fair, I have never wronged any man, I drink Chian wine, and in all other respects I contrive to satisfy myself, since my private revenues are sufficient for these purposes ; I do not, as some of you do, live as a venal judge or adulterer.” Thereupon he designated by name some who made a practice of these things. And when King Antigonus^c heard this, he made him a judge.^d At the Panathenaea, as commander of horse, he reared beside the Hermae^e a platform for Aristagora higher than the Hermae ; and at Eleusis, at the time of the Mysteries, he placed a throne for her beside the temple, after threatening that any who should try to prevent him would be sorry for it.’

“ That all prodigals, and persons who did not live according to their means, were in ancient times summoned before the Areopagites and punished by

^a *Thesmophetes*, one of the six junior archons in Athens.

^b Images of Hermes which stood in a row in the Athenian market-place, before which the Panathenaic procession passed.

ATHENAEUS

‘Αρεοπαγῖται καὶ ἐκόλαζον, ιστόρησαν Φανόδημος
καὶ Φιλόχορος ἄλλοι τε πλείους. Μενέδημον γοῦν
καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην τοὺς φιλοσόφους νέους ὅντας
καὶ πενομένους μεταπεμψάμενοι ἡρώτησαν πῶς
ὅλας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῖς φιλοσόφοις συσχολάζοντες,
κεκτημένοι δὲ μηδέν, εὐεκτούσιν οὕτω τοῖς
σώμασι· καὶ οἱ ἐκέλευσαν μεταπεμφθῆναι τινὰ
ἢ τῶν μυλωθρῶν. ἐλθόντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος
ὅτι νυκτὸς ἔκάστης κατιόντες εἰς τὸν μυλῶνα
καὶ ἀλοῦντες δύο δραχμὰς ἀμφότεροι λαμβάνονται,
θαυμάσαντες οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται διακοσίαις δραχμαῖς
ἔτιμησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Δημόκριτον δὲ ἈΒδηρῖται
δημοσίᾳ κρίνοντες ὡς κατεφθαρκότα τὰ πατρῶα,
ἐπειδὴ ἀναγνοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν μέγαν διάκοσμον καὶ
τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου εἰπὼν¹ εἰς ταῦτα ἀνηλωκέναι,
ἀφείθη. οἱ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἀσωτοι κατὰ τὸν Ἀμφιν·

πώνουσ’ ἔκάστης ἡμέρας δι’ ἡμέρας,

ε διασειδέμενοι τοὺς κροτάφους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου,
καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δίφιλον “κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες τρεῖς
ῶσπερ Ἀρτεμίσιον,” “πολέμιοι τῆς οὐσίας ὑπ-
άρχοντες, ὡς Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ χαρακτήρων
εἴρηκεν, κατατρέχοντες τὸν ἀγρόν, διαρπάζοντες
τὴν οἰκίαν, λαφυροπαλοῦντες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, σκο-
ποῦντες οὐ τί δεδαπάνηται ἀλλὰ τί δαπανηθήσεται,
οὐδὲ τί περιέσται ἀλλὰ τί οὐ περιέσται, ἐν τῇ
ἢ νεότητι τὰ τοῦ γήρως ἐφόδια προκαταναλίσκοντες,

¹ εἰπὼν A : εἶπεν C. The sentence is defective.

^a F.H.G. i. 368.

^b Ibid. 394.

^c An example *e contrario*, as often in Athen.

^d Kock ii 248; the words διασειδέμενοι τοὺς κροτάφους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου, though adapted by the speaker to his own sentence, also belong to the poet, cf. Aristoph. Nub. 1276.

them, is recorded by Phanodemus^a and Philochorus^b and several others. For example,^c they sent for the philosophers, Menedemus and Asclepiades, when they were young and poor, and asked them how it was that though they spent all their days in leisurely association with the philosophers, and possessed no property, yet they were in such good bodily condition ; and they told the judges to summon a certain miller. When he arrived he deposed that every night they came to his mill and ground, receiving, both together, two shillings ; and in admiration the Areopagites rewarded them with ten pounds. Again, the people of Abdera summoned Democritus to trial in court on the charge of having squandered his patrimony ; but when he had read them his great *Order of the Universe* and told them about the nether world, he explained that he had spent all on these researches, and was acquitted. Those, however, who are not prodigal in this sense, in the words of Amphis,^d ‘Drink every day throughout the day,’ with temples badly shaken by the unmixed wine ; or, as Diphilus^e says, ‘carrying three heads, like an image of Artemis.’^f ‘They are enemies of their own property,’ as Satyrus says in his work *On Characters*,^g ‘trampling down their fields, pillaging their houses, looting their funds, looking not to what has been spent but to what is going to be spent, not to what will be left over but to what will not be left over ; in their youth squandering too soon the provision

^a Kock ii 577 ; Eustath. 1504. 62 says that drunken men feel as if they had many heads.

^b Referring to the three-faced (*τριπρόσωπα*) images of Artemis or Hecate, “Diana of the Cross-roads.”

^c F.H.G. iii. 164.

ATHENAEUS

χαίροντες τῇ ἔταιρᾳ, οὐ τοῖς ἔταιροις, καὶ τῷ
οὖν, οὐ τοῖς συμπόταις.” Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ’ ὁ
Κνῖδιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ πρὸς ταῖς κ’ τῶν Εὐρωπιακῶν
“ Γνώσιππον, φησίν, ἀσωτον γενόμενον ἐν τῇ
Σπάρτῃ ἐκάλυνον οἱ ἔφοροι συναναστρέφεσθαι τοῖς
νέοις.” παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μνημονεύεται, ὡς
φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ
τῶν ἱστοριῶν, Ἀπίκιόν τινα ἐπὶ ἀσωτίᾳ πάντας
ἀνθρώπους ὑπερηκοντικέναι. οὗτος δ’ ἐστὶν Ἀπί-
κιος ὁ καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αἴτιος γενόμενος Ῥουτιλίῳ
τῷ τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκδεδωκότι τῇ
Ἐλλήνων φωνῇ. περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου τοῦ καὶ¹
ἀντοῦ ἐπὶ ἀσωτίᾳ διαβοήτου ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις
εἰρήκαμεν.

Διογένης δ’ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ εὐγενείας
“ τὸν Φωκίωνος υἱόν, φησί, Φῶκον οὐκ ἦν ὃς οὐκ
ἐμίσει Ἀθηναίων· καὶ ὅπότε ἀπαντήσειέ τις αὐτῷ
ἔλεγεν ‘ ὡς καταισχύνας τὸ γένος.’ πάντα γὰρ
ἀνάλωσε τὰ πατρῶα εἰς ἀσωτίαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
ἐκολάκευε τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Μουνυχίας ἐφ’ ὧ πάλιν
ἡνὸς πάντων ἐπερραπίζετο. ἐπιδόσεων δέ ποτε
γνομένων παρελθὼν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ἔφη ‘ ἐπιδίδωμι κάγω,’ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμο-
θυμαδὸν ἀνεβόησαν ‘ εἰς ἀκολασίαν.’ ἦν δ’ ὁ Φῶκος
καὶ φιλοπότης. νικήσαντος γοῦν αὐτοῦ ἵπποις

¹ For περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου τοῦ καὶ should probably be read περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου ἄλλου καὶ, “concerning another Apicius.”

^a F.H.G. iii. 193. The Ephors were the five elders who constituted a Board of Control in all Spartan affairs.

^b Ibid. 265. The Apicius here mentioned is not the writer

for their old age, delighting in a mistress, not in mates, and in wine, not in the company at wine.' And Agatharchides of Cnidus, in the twenty-eighth book of his *European History*,^a says : 'The Ephors in Sparta debarred Gnosippus, since he had proved to be a prodigal, from associating with the young men.' Among the Romans it is recalled, as Poseidonius says in the forty-ninth book of his *Histories*,^b that a certain Apicius had outdone the whole world in prodigality. This Apicius is the man who caused the banishment of Rutilius, who had published his *History of Rome* in the Greek language. Concerning an Apicius who also was notorious for prodigality, we have spoken in the first book.^c

"Diogenes of Babylon in his work on *Noble Birth*^d says that there was not a man in Athens who did not hate Phocus, the son of Phocion ; and whenever one met Phocus he would say to him, 'O you disgrace to your family !' For he spent all his ancestral estate in prodigality, and then began to toady to the ruler of Munichia,^e for which he was again castigated by all. And once, when donations, over and above taxes, were being subscribed, he came forward also in person before the assembly and said, 'I myself donate'^f ; and all the Athenians with one consent cried out, 'Yes, to profligacy.' Phocus was also a drink-lover. At any rate, he on cookery (see Vol. I. Introduction) but lived much earlier. Rutilius Rufus was exiled in 93 B.C. See 274 c.

^c 7 a.

^d Apparently a study of eugenics historically considered.

^e Either the commander of the Macedonian garrison on the Munichian hill which controlled Peiraeus (Wilamowitz) or "the hero of neat-wine drinking," 39 c (Kaibel).

^f ἐπιδιδωμι may be used, as here, of voluntary contributions to a good cause or of misplaced devotion to a bad.

ATHENAEUS

Παναθήναια¹ ὡς ὁ πατὴρ εἰστία τοὺς ἔταιρους,
συνελθόντων εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον λαμπρὰ μὲν ἦν ἡ
παρασκευὴ καὶ τοῦς εἰσιούσι προσεφέροντο ποδο-
169 νιπτῆρες οἴνου δι' ἀρωμάτων. οὓς ἴδων ὁ πατὴρ
καλέσας τὸν Φῶκον ‘οὐ παύσεις, ἔφη, τὸν ἔταιρον
διαφθείροντά σου τὴν νίκην;’ οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους
ἀσώτους πολλούς, περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν καταλείπω ζητεῦν,
πλὴν Καλλίου τοῦ Ἰππονίκου, δν καὶ οἱ τῶν
παιδῶν οἴδασι παιδαγωγοί. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
ὧν φθάνω προβεβληκὼς εἴ τι λέγειν ἔχετε, ‘ἀνα-
πεπταμένας ἔχω τῶν ὥτων τὰς πύλας.’ ὥστε
λέγετε· ἐπιζητῶ γάρ καὶ ὅπερ ὁ² Μάγνος εἴρηκε τὸ
ἐπεσθίειν καὶ τὸ ἐπιφαγεῖν.”

Καὶ ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη· “τὸ μὲν ἀσώτιον ἔχεις
παρὰ Στράττιδι ἐν Χρυσίππῳ λέγοντι οὕτως.

b εἰ μηδὲ³ χέσαι γ' αὐτῷ σχολὴ γενήσεται
μηδὲ⁴ εἰς ἀσώτιον τραπέσθαι μηδὲ⁵ ἐὰν
αὐτῷ ξυναντῷ τις, λαλῆσαι μηδὲ⁶ ἐν.⁴

ΜΑΓΕΙΡΙΚΑ δὲ σκετη καταριθμεῖται Ἀνάξιππος
ἐν Κιθαρωδῷ οὕτως·

ζωμήρυσιν φέροις, ὀβελίσκους δώδεκα,
κρεάγραν, θυίαν, τυροκυνῆστιν παιδικήν,

¹ Παναθήναια Nauck: παναθηναῖος A.

² ὅπερ ὁ added by Wilamowitz (δ Casaubon)

³ εἰ μηδὲ A: εἰ μὴ Koek.

⁴ μηδὲ ἐν Meineke: μηδενί A.

^a Plutarch, *Phoc* 20, tells this story more lucidly. Phocion, the father, was not the host. On the contrary, he not only gave no banquet, but he had also refused the invitations of others. Yielding at last to the solicitation of one of his son's friends, he attended a dinner in his son's honour. “When he saw the foot-basins, filled with spiced wine,

once won in a horse race at the Panathenaea; and when his father entertained his companions with a banquet, the company, on arriving at the dinner, found the preparations elaborate; and as they came in there were brought to them vessels for washing the feet, filled with spiced wine. When his father saw them, he called to Phocus and said, 'Make your comrade stop spoiling your victory!'^a I know of many other prodigal men besides, but I leave you to inquire into the history of them all excepting Callias the son of Hippoicus, whose story is known even to the slaves who attend schoolboys. But if you have anything to say on the other subjects which I have propounded for discussion before anyone else, 'I hold the portals of my ears spread open wide.'^b Wherefore speak. For I again ask about the expressions which Magnus used,^c 'to eat up and devour.'"

And Aemilianus said: "You have the word 'prodigals' house' in Strattis, who says in *Chrysippus*^d: 'If a body isn't going to have time even to relieve himself, or go to a prodigal's house, or when someone meets him, to stop and say a single word!'"

Cooking utensils are enumerated by Anaxippus in *The Harp-singer*^e thus: "Bring a soup ladle, a dozen skewers, a meat hook, mortar, small cheese

offered to the guests as they entered, he called to his son and said, 'Make your comrade stop spoiling your victory!'"

^b An unidentified iambic line. Here end the remarks of Ulpian begun at 165 d. The exposition by Aemilianus seems to extend to 174 a.^c 164 a.

^d Kock 1. 726; a young man complains of his father's restrictions.

^e Kock in. 300.

ATHENAEUS

στελεόν, σκαφίδας τρεῖς, δορίδα,¹ κοπίδας τέταρας.

c οὐ μὴ πρότερον οἴσεις,² θεοῖσιν ἔχθρε σύ, τὸ λεβήτιον, τάκ τοῦ νίτρου³ πάλιν ὑστερεῖς; καὶ τὴν κυβῆλην, τὴν ταγηνιστηρίαν.⁴

Τὴν χύτραν δ' Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Σκηνὰς καταλαμβανούσαις κακκάβην εἴρηκεν οὕτως·

τὴν κακκάβην γὰρ κāε. β. τοῦ διδασκάλου;⁵ κάν Δαιταλεῦσι·

κάγειν ἐκεῦθεν κακκάβην.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Φιλοθηβαίω·

d πάντ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν· ἢ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος τῆς ἔνδον οὖσης ἔγχελυς Βοιωτία μιχθεῖσα κοιλοῖς ἐν βυθοῖσι κακκάβης χλιαίνετ', αἴρεθ', ἔψεται, παφλάζεται.

βατάνιον δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Εὐθυδίκω·

ἔπειτα πουλύπους τετμημένος ἐν βατανίοισιν⁶ ἔφθος.

*Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ἀσκληπιοκλείδῃ·

οῦτως δ' ὁφοποιεῖν εὑφυῶς περὶ τὴν⁷ Σικελίαν αὐτὸς ἔμαθον ὥστε τοὺς δειπνοῦντας εἰς τὰ βατάνι' ἐμβάλλειν ποῶ⁸ ἐνίοτε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἥδονῆς.

¹ δορίδα Casaubon: διρίδα A.

² οἴσεις Villebrun: νεύσεις A.

³ τάκ τοῦ νίτρου Meineke: κάκ τοῦ λητρου A.

⁴ ταγηνιστηρίαν Meineke: ἀγωνιστηρίαν A.

scraper, skillet,^a three bowls, a skinning knife, four cleavers. First bring, won't you, you abomination in the eyes of the gods, the small kettle and the things from the soda-shop^b Late again, are you? Bring also the axe and the rack of frying-pans."

The pot used for boiling is called *caccabē* by Aristophanes in *Women who get the Best Places*,^c thus: "A. Put the pot on the fire —B. What, the teacher's?" Also in *Men of Dinnerville*^d: "And bring the pot from there." Antiphanes in *The Pro-Theban*^e: "We now have everything; for the creature which bears the same name as our lady inside, Boeotian 'eel,' is tightly enveloped in the hollow depths of the pot (*caccabē*); it's getting hot, rising high, stewing and spluttering." But in *Euthydicus* Antiphanes calls the pot *batanion*^f: "After that, sliced octopus stewed in pots (*batania*)."^g So Alexis in *Asklepiocleides*^h: "With such natural aptitude have I learned in Sicily to make fancy dishes, that I cause the feasters now and then to push their teeth into

^a "stirring stick"? *στελεόν* is properly "axe-haft." Cf. 74 a.

^b τὸ νίτρον, "the soda," was that place in the market where dry groceries were sold.

^c Lit. "who preempt the tents," i.e. best places for setting up tents at the games, parades, fairs, etc. Kock i. 515. κακκάβη in these passages suggests *κακκᾶν*, Lat. *cacare*.

^d Kock i. 445.

^e Kock ii. 105; cf. Athen 622 f. Apparently the courtesan giving the dinner was named Enchelys, "Eel."

^f Kock ii. 49.

^g Kock ii. 306; cf. 107 d.

^h The punctuation and assignment of the words to two speakers are due to Capps.

⁶ βατανίοισιν Cåsaubon: βατάνοισιν AC.

⁷ τὴν added by Casaubon

⁸ ἐμβάλλειν ποῶ 107 d: ἐκβαλεῖν ποιῶ A.

ATHENAEUS

πατάνιον δὲ διὰ τοῦ π Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Γάμῳ¹.

e πατάνια, σεῦτλον, σίλφιον, χύτρας, λύχνους,
κορίαννα, κρόμμυον, ἄλας, ἔλαιον, τρυβλίον.

Φιλέταιρος Ὁνοπίωνι.

δ μάγειρος οὗτος Πατανίων προσελθέτω.
καὶ πάλιν.

πλείους Στρατονίκου τοὺς μαθητάς μοι δοκεῖ
ἔξειν Πατανίων.

ἐν δὲ Παρασίτῳ δ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τάδε εἴρηκεν.

f ἄλλος ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγας
ῆξει τις ἴσοτράπεζος εὐγενής—Β. τίνα
λέγεις; Α. Καρύστου θρέμμα, γηγενής, ζέων—
Β. εἴτ' οὐκ ἀν εἴποις; ὑπαγε. Α. κάκκαβον
λέγω·

σὺ δ' ἵσως ἀν εἴποις λοπάδος. Β. ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦ-
νομα
οἵει διαφέρειν, εἴτε κάκκαβόν τινες
χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες εἴτε σίττυβον,
πλὴν ὅτι λέγεις ἀγγεῖον οἶδα;

Εῦβουλος δ' ἐν Ἱωνι καὶ² βατάνια καὶ πατάνια
λέγει ἐν τούτοις.

τρυβλία δὲ καὶ βατάνια καὶ κακκάβια καὶ
λοπάδια καὶ πατάνια ποικιλόθροος καὶ—³
οὐδὲ ἀν λέγων λέξαιμι.

¹ Γάμῳ Bekker An. 84. 13. σάμῳ Α. •

² καὶ Α: τὰ Koek ("calls batania patania," i.e. has the form in *p*, like Antiphanes).

the pots for very joy." But Antiphanes has *patanion*, spelled with *p*, in *Marriage*^a. "Pots (*patania*), a beet, silphium, boilers, lamps, coriander, onions, salt, olive-oil, a bowl." Philetaerus in *Oenopion*^b: "Let this cook Potter advance!" And again ^c "Methinks Potter will have more pupils than Victor." In *The Parasite*^c Antiphanes also has this: "A. Following this another will come, large, filling the table, well-born ^d—B. Whom are you talking about?—A. A creature from Carystus,^d gigantic,^e seething.—B. Well, aren't you going to tell me? Get on!—A. *Caccabus* I mean; you, perhaps, would call him *Casserole*.—B. Do you think it makes any difference to me whether people like to call it *Caccabus* or *Sittybus*,^f provided that I know that you are talking about a pot?" But Eubulus, in *Ion*,^g has both forms, *batania* and *patania*, in these lines: "Bowls, and basins (*batania*) too, and kettles, casseroles, and patens (*patania*), sounding in various tones, and—I couldn't begin to tell you if I began to tell."

^a Kock II 40; from the form πατάνη (colloquial πατάνιον) came Lat. *patina*, Eng. *pan*.

^b Kock II. 234

^c Kock II. 85.

^d Punning on the first syllable; *eugenēs* suggests Euboea, the southern cape of which is Carystus. Cf 135 e, "casseroles from Euboea."

^e Or "earth-born."

^f The speaker (B) is trying to emulate the pedant by citing strange words. He picks *sittybus* ("label" or "title," a piece of leather pasted to a scroll), the meaning of which he does not know himself.

^g Kock II. 177; the text is defective, and it is not easy to see how Eubulus could use two forms which differ in dialect merely. See crit. note.

³ ποικιλόθροα καὶ Gulick. πυκινὰ ταρβα καὶ A.

ATHENAEUS

170 ΗΔΤΣΜΑΤΩΝ δὲ κατάλογον "Αλεξίς ἐποιήσατο
ἐν Λέβητι οὗτως·

- . . . μὴ προφάσεις ἐνταῦθά μοι, μηδ' "οὐκ ἔχω."
- β. ἀλλὰ δέγ' ὅτου δεῖ¹. λήψομαι γὰρ πάντ' ἔγώ.
- Α. ὄρθως γε πρώτον μὲν λάβ' ἐλθὼν σήσαμα.
- Β. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἔνδον. Α ἀσταφίδα κεκομμένην,
μάραθον, ἄνηθον, νᾶπυ, καυλόν, σίλφιον,
κορίαννον αὖν, ροῦν, κύμινον, κάππαριν,
- b δρύγανον, γήτειον, σκόροδον, θύμον,
σφάκον, σίραιον, σέσελι, πήγανον, πράσον.

ἐν δὲ Παννυχίδι ἡ Ἐρίθοις· μάγειρον δὲ ποιεῖ λέγοντα·

- κύκλῳ δεήσει περιτρέχειν με καὶ βοῶν,
ἄν του δέωμαι δεῖπνον αἰτήσεις με σὺ
ἡδη παρελθών; οὐκ ἔχων δὲ τυγχάνω
οὐκ ὅξος, οὐκ ἄνηθον, οὐκ ὄριγανον,
οὐ θρῖον, οὐκ ἔλαιον, οὐκ ἀμυγδάλας,
οὐ σκόροδον, οὐ σίραιον, οὐχὶ γήθυνον,
c οὐ βιλβόν, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ κύμινον, οὐχ ἄλας,
οὐκ ὠόν, οὐ κύπρον, οὐκ σκάφην, οὐ τήγανον,
οὐχ ἴμοινάν, οὐ λάκκον εἶδον, οὐ φρέαρ.
οὐ στάμνος ἔστι· διακενῆς δ' ἔστηκ' ἔγὼ
ἔχων μάχαιραν, προσέτι περιεζωσμένος.

κἀν Πονήρᾳ·

τῆς ὄριγάνου

πρώτιστον ὑποθεὶς² εἰς λοπάδα νεανικήν
τὸ τρίμμ' ἐπιπολῆς εὐρύθμως διειμένον
ὅξει, σιραίῳ χρωματίσας καὶ σίλφίῳ,
πυκνῷ πατάξας.³

Alexis has made his own list of seasonings in *The Melting-pot*^a as follows : “ A. No excuses for me here ! No ‘ I haven’t got any ’ !—B. Well, tell me what you need. I will get everything —A. All right. Then first go and get sesame seeds.—B. But I have them in the house —A. A mashed raisin, some fennel, anise, mustard, kale,^b silphium, dried coriander, sumach, cummin, capers, marjoram, horn-onion, garlic, thyme, sage, must, hart-wort, rue, leek.” Another list is in *The Vigil*, or *Toilers*^c; he represents a cook as saying : “ I’ll^d have to run round and round and shout for anything I may need. You will demand of me your dinner just as soon as you arrive ? But I have, as it happens, no vinegar, no anise, no marjoram, no fig-leaves, no oil, no almonds, no garlic, no must, horn-onion, bulb, fire, cummin, salt, egg, wood, kneading-trough, frying-pan, well-rope—I have not seen cistern or well. There is no wine jar, and I stand here all in vain, knife in hand, and what’s more, my loins girt up for action.” And in *The Love-lorn Lass*^e. “ First of all put some marjoram at the bottom of a large casserole, over that the liqueur, diluted with vinegar in just measure, colouring it with must and silphium ; then whip it vigorously.”

^a Kock ii 343, cf Pollux vi 66. ^b Or “ cauliflower.”

^c Kock ii 362.

^d A cook complains that he has no helper and no supplies. The fig-leaf was often used to wrap and serve food in, like the leaf of grape or cabbage to-day. Cf. Athen. 9 a, 131 d.

^e Kock ii 367.

¹ λέγ' ὅτου δεῖ Dobree λέγοντα οὐδεῖ A.

² ὑποθεὶς Casaubon : ὑποτιθεὶς A.

³ καταπάσας Kock, πισάξας Lumb, “ sprinkling over it.”

ATHENAEUS

d Ἐπεσθίειν εἴρηκε Τηλεκλείδης Πρυτάνεσιν
οὗτως· “τυρίον ἐπεσθίοντα.” ἐπιφαγεῖν δ’ Εὐ-
πόλις Ταξιάρχοις.

μηδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ κρόμμιον λέποντα¹ καὶ τρεῖς ἄλ-
μάδας.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτων.

πρὸ τοῦ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἅπαντ’ ἐπήσθιεν.

Τῶν δὲ ΜΑΓΕΙΡΩΝ διάφοροί τινες ἥσαν οἱ καλού-
μενοι τραπεζοποιοί. εἰς δὲ οὗτοι παρελαμβά-
νοντο σαφῶς παρίστησιν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μετοίκῳ.

e προσέλαβον ἐλθὼν τουτονὶ²
τραπεζοποιόν, ὃς πλυνεῖ σκεύη, λύχνους
έτοιμάσει, σπονδὰς ποιήσει, τἄλλ’ ὅσα
τούτῳ προσήκει.

ζητητέον δὲ εἰ καὶ δ τραπεζοκόμος δ αὐτός ἐστι
τῷ τραπεζοποιῷ. Ἰόβας γὰρ δ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς
‘Ομοιότησι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐναί φησι τραπεζοκόμον καὶ
τὸν ὑπὸ ‘Ρωμαίων καλούμενον στρούκτωρα, παρα-
τιθέμενος ἐκ δράματος Ἀλεξάνδρου φῶν ἐπιγραφὴ³
Πότος.

εἰς αὔριόν με δεῖ λαβεῖν αὐλητρίδα.

τραπεζοποιόν, δημιουργὸν λήψομαι.

ἐπὶ τοῦτ’ ἀπέστειλ’ ἐξ ἄγρου μ’ δεσπότης.

ἐκάλουν δὲ τραπεζοποιὸν τὸν τραπεζῶν ἐπιμελητὴν
καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας. Φιλήμων Παρεισιώντι.

περὶ τούπτάνιον οὐ γίνεθ⁴ ἢ σκευωρίᾳ⁵.

τραπεζοποιός ἐστ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ διάκονεῶν.

¹ λέποντα Μεινέκε: βλέποντα Α.

To "eat up" is used by Telecleides thus in *The Prytanes*^a: "Eating up a little cheese." Eupolis has the aorist of the verb in *The Taxiarchs*^b: "To eat up nothing, but merely chew an onion and three salted olives." And Aristophanes in *Plutus*^c: "In the old days, such was his poverty, he would eat up anything."

Different from the *cooks* were the so-called "table-makers." What these men were called in for is plainly shown by Antiphanes in *The Immigrant*^d: "I went and hired in addition this table-maker, who will wash the dishes, get the lamps ready, prepare the libations, and do everything else which it is his business to do." We may, however, ask whether the "table-server" is the same as the "table-maker." For King Juba, in *Similarities*, says that "table-server" and the person called by the Romans *structor* are one and the same, citing lines from a play by Alexander entitled *The Drinking-bout*^e: "For to-morrow I must secure a flute-girl; I will get a 'table-maker' and a caterer. This is what my master sent me from the country for." They used to call table-maker the man who took care of the tables and the correct serving of the dinner in general. Philemon in *Butting In*^f: "You have no oversight in the kitchen; a table-maker is appointed

^a Presiding officers in the Athenian Council and Assembly, Kock i. 215, cf. Athen. 486 a.

^b Commanders of the tribal quotas in the Athenian army; Kock i. 328.

^c l. 1005, where, however, the best reading is ὑπήσθιεν.

^d Kock ii. 73.

^e Kock iii. 372.

^f Kock ii. 493; a cook is vindicating his own authority against that of a *τραπεζοποιός*.

ATHENAEUS

ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ἐπιτραπεζώματα τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα τῇ τραπέζῃ βρώματα. Πλάτων Μενελάω.

171 ως ὀλίγα λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων.

ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστὴν τὸν τὰ ὄψα ὡνούμενον, νῦν δ’ ὁψωνάτωρα, ως Ξενοφῶν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων οὗτωσὶ λέγων· “διáκονον δ’ ἀν καὶ ἀγοραστὴν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἔθελοιμεν προῦκα λαβεῖν;” παρὰ δὲ Μενάνδρῳ ἐστὶ κοινότερον ἐν Φανίῳ.

φειδωλὸς ἦν καὶ μέτριος ἀγοραστής.

ὁψώνην δ’ εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς διὰ τούτων.

b ως οὐψώνης διατρίβειν
 ἡμῖν τάριστον ἔοικε.

παροψωνεῦν δ’ ἔφη Κρατῆνος ἐν Κλεοβουλίναις οὕτως . . . παραγοράζειν δὲ Ἀλεξις ἐν Δρωπίδῃ. εἰλέατροι δὲ καλοῦνται, ως φησι Πάμφιλος, οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν καλοῦντες τράπεζαν παρὰ τὸ ἐλεόν. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δ’ αὐτοὺς δειπνοκλήτορας ὀνομάζει. ἐκάλουν δέ, φησί, καὶ τοὺς προγεύστας ἐδεάτρους,¹ δτι προήσθιον τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. νῦν δὲ ὁ ἐδεάτρος² ἐπιστάτης γέγονε τῆς δλης διακονίας ἦν δ’ ἐπιφανῆς καὶ ἔντυμος ἡ χρεία. Χάρης γοῦν ἐν τῇ γ’ τῶν ἴστοριῶν

¹ εδεάτρους Valckenaer: αιδεελαιαιατρους A.

² εδεάτρος Valckenaer: ελαιαιατρος A.

^a Kock 1. 622; cf. Athen. 641 b.

^b A Latin formation, from Greek ὁψωνῶ, “buy victuals.”

to serve." They used to call the viands placed upon the table (*trapeza*) *epitrapezomata*. Plato in *Menelaus*^a : " How little is left over of the things upon the table ! " They used also to call the man who purchased the food " marketer " (*agorastes*), though to-day we call him " obsonator "^b ; thus Xenophon, in the second book of *Memorabilia*,^c has these words : " Should we consent to take a servant and a marketer of this quality for nothing ? " But in Menander's *Phanium*^d it has a more general sense : " He was a thrifty and moderate purchaser." Aristophanes has the form *opsones* for " marketer " in *Masters of the Frying-Pan*,^e in these lines : " How that marketer seems to be delaying our luncheon ! " Cratinus used a verb meaning " to buy dainties besides " in *The Cleobulinas*^f . . . , and Alexis has a verb " buy in the market beside," in *Dropides*^g Those who give the summons to come to the king's table, as Pamphilus says, are called " table-men," from *eleon*, which means " meat-table." But Artemidorus names them " dinner-summoners " He^h further says that they used to call the foretasters " eaters," because they ate before the king to ensure his safety. But in our day the " eater " has become the superintendent of the entire service ; his office was distinguished and honourable. Chares, at any rate, in the third book of his *Histories*ⁱ says

^a 1.5.2. The division into books of many works differed from that known to-day.

^b Kock m. 143; Allinson 446.

^c Kock i. 521.

^f *Riddle-propounders*, from Cleobulina, daughter of Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men; Kock i. 41. The quotation is lost

^g Kock n. 318 -

^h *i.e.*, the original writer of the note on these words.

ⁱ p. 116 Muller.

ATHENAEUS

ε Πτολεμαῖόν φησι τὸν Σωτῆρα ἐδέατρον ἀποδειχθῆναι, Ἀλεξάνδρου. μήποτε δὲ καὶ ὃν νῦν καλοῦσι 'Ρωμαῖοι πρωτογεύστην¹ τότε οἱ Ἑλληνες πρότενθην ὡνόμαζον, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν προτέραις Νεφέλαις διὰ τούτων.

ΣΤΡ. πῶς οὐ δέχονται δῆτα τῇ νουμηνίᾳ
ἀρχαὶ τὰ πρυτανεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔνη τε καὶ νέα;
ΦΕΙΔ. ὅπερ οἱ προτένθαι γάρ δοκοῦσιν μοι
παθεῖν.

ἴν' ὡς τάχιστα τὰ πρυτανεῖ ὑφελοίατο,
d διὰ τοῦτο προύτενθευσαν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ.
μιημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Ἀγρίοις.

μὴ θαυμάσῃς·
τῶν γάρ προτενθῶν ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰσθα σύ.
καὶ Φιλύλλιος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ·

βούλεσθε δῆτ' ἐγὼ φράσω τίς εἰμ' ἐγώ;
ἡ τῶν προτενθῶν Δορπία καλουμένη.

εὑρίσκω δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι γενόμενον, ἐνῳδῷ ωσπερ τι σύστημα εοὶ προτένθαι εἰσί, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ παράσιτοι ὄνομαζόμενοι, ἔχον οὕτως· "Φῶκος εἶπεν· δπως ἂν ἡ βουλὴ ἄγῃ τὰ Ἀπατούρια μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς βουλευτὰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἀσπερ καὶ

¹ Since προγεύστην, the reading in A, here = Lat. *gustatorem* which in the glossaries is rendered πρωτογεύστην, Kaibel reads πρωτογεύστην here.

* *Nub.* 1196 ff.; τὰ πρυτανεῖα were the sums of money required of litigants in advance as a guarantee of good faith.

that Ptolemy Soter was appointed "eater" for Alexander. Perhaps also the man whom Romans to-day call "foretaster" was he whom Greeks in the old days used to name *protentes*, as Aristophanes has it in the earlier edition of the *Clouds*,^a in these lines: "STREPSIADES: How is it, then, that the magistrates don't accept these pledges on the first day of the month, instead of on the last?^b PHEIDIPPIDES: Why, I fancy they are subject to the same weakness as the foretasters—in their desire to grab the pledges as early as possible, they 'foretaste' them by a whole day." Pherecrates also mentions foretasters in *Savages*^c: "Do not wonder; for we are foretasters, though you do not know it." And Phyllius in *Heracles*^d: "Shall I tell you then, so please you, who I am? I am one of the foretasters, and my name is Luncheonetta." I also find a decree passed at Athens in the archonship of Cephisodorus,^e in which the "foretasters" are a kind of college, exactly like the order called Parasitai.^f It runs thus. "On the motion of Phocus, in order that the Council may celebrate the Apaturia in company with all other Athenians according to ancestral practice, be it decreed by the Council that its members be dismissed during those days on which all the other officials entitled to a holiday are celebrating, for

^a i.e., the day preceding; *ēvñ kāl vēa*, "old and new (moon)" was the name of the last day in the month.

^b Kock i. 147.

^c Kock i. 784; *Δορπία* is the name given to the first day of the Apaturia, an ancient autumn festival of the Attic phratries.

^d 323-2 B.C. The Council mentioned is probably the Areopagus.

^e Not parasites in the sense of the New Comedy, but a class of priests who dined at the public table. See 234 c.

ATHENAEUS

αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ¹ αἱ ἀφεταὶ² ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἡς
οἱ προτένθαι ἄγουσι πέντε ἡμέρας.” δοτὶ δὲ εἶχον
οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τοὺς προγεύστας καλουμένους
Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ιέρωνι ἢ τυραν-
νικῷ φησιν. “ὅς τύραννος οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς
πιστεύων διάγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἀντὶ τοῦ³ ἀπ-
άρχεσθαι θεοῖς τοῖς διακονοῦσι⁴ πρῶτον κελεύοντας
ἀπογεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις
κακόν τι φάγωσιν ἢ πίωσιν.” Ἀναξίλας δὲ ἐν
Καλυψῷ φησιν.

172 προγεύσεται⁵ σοι πρῶτον ἢ γραῦς τοῦ ποτοῦ

Τοὺς δὲ τὰ πέμματα προσέτι τε τοὺς ποιοῦντας
τοὺς πλακοῦντας οἱ πρότερον δημιουργοὺς ἐκάλουν.
Μένανδρος Ψευδηρακλεῖ· καταμεμφόμενος δὲ τοὺς
μαγείρους ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ οἷς μὴ δεῖ φησιν.

μάγειρ’, ἀηδῆς μοι δοκεῖς εἶναι σφόδρα.

πόσας τραπέζας μέλλομεν ποιεῦν, τρίτον
ἡδη μὲν ἔρωτᾶς. χοιρίδιον ἐν θύομεν,
οκτὼ ποιήσοντες τραπέζας δὲ ἢ μίαν,

b τί σοι διαφέρει τοῦτο; παράθεις σήμερον.⁶

οὐκ ἔστι κανδύλους ποεῖν οὐδὲ οἴα σὺ
εἰώθας εἰς ταῦτὸν καρυκεύειν μέλι,
σεμίδαλιν, ὡά· πάντα γὰρ τάνατία
νῦν ἔστιν· ὃ μάγειρος γὰρ ἐγχύτους ποεῖ,
πλακοῦντας ὅπτῃ, χόνδρον ἔψει καὶ φέρει
μετὰ τὸ τάριχος, εἴτα θρῖον καὶ βότρυς

¹ ἀρχαὶ Wilamowitz: βουλαὶ A.

² αἱ ἀφεταὶ Porson: διαφεταὶ A.

³ ἀντὶ τοῦ A. πρὶν τοῦ Xenophon.

⁴ τοῖς διακονοῦσι A: τοὺς διακόνους Xen.

⁵ προγεύσεται Musurus: παρογεύσεται A.

⁶ σήμερον Allinson: σημίαν A (dittography)

five days beginning with the day on which the Fore-tasters begin the celebration.” That the ancients used to have also the foretasters called *progeustae* Xenophon tells us in the work entitled *Hieron*, or *The Tyrant's Character*^a. “The tyrant lives in distrust even of food and drink ; why, instead of being the first to offer the gods the consecrating morsel, they bid their serving-men take a taste first because of their suspicion that even in this rite they may eat or drink something harmful.” And Anaxilas says in *Calypso*^b. “First, the old woman will be the foretaster of your wine”

Again, the men of earlier times called those who made cakes, and especially those who made the large flat-cakes, “artisans” Menander, in *Sham Heracles*,^c scolding the cooks because they undertake matters which are none of their business, says : “Cook, in my eyes you are very obnoxious. ‘How many tables are we going to set?’ It’s the third time, already, that you have asked that. We are killing for the sacrifice one little pig ; but whether we shall set up eight tables or only one, what difference does that make to you? Serve the dinner to-day! You haven’t any rich titbits^d to make, nor the kind of sauces which you usually mix in it, consisting of honey, sifted flour, and eggs, no, for nowadays things are completely turned round. It is the cook who makes cakes in moulds, bakes flat-cakes, boils groats and serves them after the salt-fish, and then a dish in fig-leaves and some

^a 4. 2.^b Kock ii. 266.^c Kock iii. 148; Allinson 458.^d κανδύλους, a rich dish of Lydian origin (Athen. 9 a).

ATHENAEUS

- η δημιουργὸς δ' ἀντιπαρατεταγμένη
κρεάδι ὅπτᾳ καὶ κίχλας τραγήματα.
ἔπειθ' ὁ δειπνῶν μὲν τραγηματίζεται,
c μυρισάμενος δὲ καὶ στεφανωσάμενος πάλιν
δειπνεῖ μελίπηκτα τὰς κίχλαις.¹
- ὅτι δὲ ἐκεχώριστο τὰ τῆς ὑπουργίας, πεμμάτων
μὲν προνοούσῶν τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὄφαρτυτικῆς δὲ
τῶν μαγείρων, Ἀντιφάνης διεσάφησεν ἐν Χρυσίδι
οὕτως.

τέτταρες δ' αὐλητρίδες
ἔχουσι μισθὸν καὶ μάγειροι δώδεκα
καὶ δημιουργοὶ μέλιτος αἰτοῦσαι σκάφας.

Μένανδρος Δημιουργῷ.

- d τί τοῦτο, πᾶν; διακονικῶς γὰρ νὴ Δία
προελήλυθας. β. ναί· πλάττομεν γὰρ πλά-
σματα,²
τὴν νύκτα τ' ἡγρυπνήκαμεν καὶ νῦν ἔπι
ἀποίητα πάμπολλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν.

πεμμάτων δὲ πρῶτόν φησιν μνημονεῦσαι Πανύασ-
σιν Σέλευκος, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς παρ' Αἴγυπτοις
ἀνθρωποθυσίας διηγεῖται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι
λέγων πέμματα, “πολλὰς δὲ νοσσάδας ὅρνις,”
προτέρου Στησιχόρου ἢ Ἰβύκου ἐν τοῖς Ἀθλοῖς
ἐπιγραφομένοις εἰρηκότος φέρεσθαι τῇ παρθένῳ
δῶρα

- e σασαμίδας χόνδρον τε καὶ ἐγκρίδας,
ἄλλα τε πέμματα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν.

¹ Porson suggests τὰς κίχλας “of thrushes as if they were honey cakes.”

² πλάσματα AC: πέμματα Μειπεκε.

grapes. Meanwhile the “artisan,” a woman, posted to rival him, roasts bits of meat and thrushes as if for dessert ; and as a consequence the guest expecting “dinner” has dessert to eat, but after anointing himself and putting on a wreath he again eats a “dinner”^a of honey-cakes—with thrushes !” That the duties of their office had been separate, the “artisans” looking after the cakes while the cooks saw to the preparation of fish and meat, is clearly shown by Antiphanes in *Chrysis*^b thus : “Four flute-girls have to be paid, and a dozen cooks and artisans, who demand honey by the bowl-ful.” Menander in *The Artisan*^c : “A. What does this mean, slave ? Zeus is my witness, you have come forth with bustling briskness. B. Ay, for we have creations to create,^d and so we the whole night long have lain sleepless ; even now there is very much still unfinished on our hands.” Seleucus says that Panyassis was the first to mention cakes in the account^e which he gives of human sacrifice among the Egyptians ; he says that upon the victims they placed many cakes, “and many nestling fowls,” although even before him Stesichorus or Ibycus, in the poem entitled *The Games*,^f had said that presents were brought to the maiden, “sesame cakes, groats, oil-and-honey cakes, other sweet cakes, and yellow

^a i.e., his dinner has become dessert, and his dessert, dinner. For the wreath see Athen. 674 b.

^b Name of a courtesan. Kock ii. 110 ; a man is complaining of his son’s extravagance in giving a dinner.

^c Kock iii. 34, Allinson 342.

^d Referring to the original confections expected of him.

^e *Frag. ep. 26.*

^f i.e., the funeral games in honour of Pelias, *P.L G.*⁴ frag. 2.

ATHENAEUS

ὅτι δὲ τὸ ποίημα τοῦτο Στησιχόρου ἔστιν ἵκανω-
τας μάρτυς Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητής, ὃς περὶ τοῦ
Μελεάγρου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενός φησιν·

ὅς δουρὶ πάντας

νίκασε νέους δινάεντα βαλών

"Αναιρον ὑπερ πολυβότρυνος ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ·

οὕτω γὰρ Ὁμηρος ἥδε Στασίχορος ἀεισε λαοῖς.

ἢ γὰρ Στησίχορος οὕτως εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ
ἄσματι τοῖς Ἀθλοῖς.

θρώσκων μὲν γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος, ἄκοντι δὲ νί-
κασεν Μελέαγρος.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶν¹ δὲ καὶ περὶ Δηλίων ἀ Απολλόδωρος
δ Ἀθηναῖος εἴρηκεν ὅτι μαγείρων καὶ τραπε-
ζοποιῶν παρείχοντο. χρείας τοῖς παραγινομένοις
πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
173 πράξεων ὀνόματα Μαγίδες καὶ Γογγύλοι, ἐπειδὴ
τὰς μάζας, φησὶν Ἀριστοφάνης,² ἐν ταῖς θοίναις
δι' ἡμέρας τρίβοντες παρείχον ὕσπερ³ γυναιξὶν
γογγύλας μεμαγμένας. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ μέχρι⁴
νῦν τινες αὐτῶν Χοίρακοι καὶ Ἀμνοὶ καὶ Ἀρ-
τυσίλεω καὶ Σήσαμοι καὶ Ἀρτυσίτραγοι καὶ
Κρεωκόροι⁴ καὶ Ἰχθυβόλοι, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν
Κυμινάνθαι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντες Ἐλεοδύται διὰ τὸ
τοῖς ἐλεοῖς ὑποδύεσθαι διακονοῦντες ἐν ταῖς

¹ Musurus ἀγνοῶ. The text is defective.

² Ἀριστοφάνης Schweighauser: ἀριστοτέλης A.C.

³ ἐν after ὕσπερ (for ὕσπερει) deleted by Schweighauser.

⁴ Κρεωκόροι Gulick (Κρεωβόροι Kaibel), formed like νεωκόροι
(the reading in A), “caring for a temple.”

honey." To show that this poem is by Stesichorus, the poet Simonides is a very competent witness, for he, in telling the story of Meleager,^a says · "Who at point of spear overcame all the warriors, driving them beyond the eddying Anaurus out of Ioleus, rich in grapes. For thus did Homer and Stesichorus sing to the folk." Indeed, Stesichorus has this verse in the poem just cited, *The Games*^b : "For Amphiaraus won in leaping, but Meleager with the javelin."

I am not unaware,^c either, of what Apollodorus of Athens has said concerning the people of Delos, that they used to supply the services of cooks and "table-makers" to all who came to Delos for the sacred rites, and that they had names derived from their functions, such as Barley-Witches and Rounders; because throughout the day during the festivals, as Aristophanes says,^d they moulded barley-cakes and offered them, as to women, kneaded round. And even to this day some of them are called Porcellians, or Rammers, or Kitchen-folk, or Sesames, or Kitchen-bucks, or Meat-boys,^e or Fish-slingers, while of the women some are called Cummin-blows, while all share the common name of Table-dodgers, because they have to dodge among meat-trays (*eleoi*) as they

^a *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 53. ^b *Ibid.* frag. 3. ^c See crit. note.

^d *Peace* 27; in Aristophanes a slave of Trygaeus complains of the fastidious beetle which his master compels him to feed φαγεῖν οὐκ ἀξιοῦ ἦν μὴ παραθῶ τρίψας δι' ἡμέρας δλῆς ὥσπερ γυναικὶ γογγύλην μεμαγμένην, "he deigns not to eat unless I rub it all day and serve it to him, as to a woman, kneaded in round shape." In *Mayls* there is also allusion to μάγος, "magician."

^e See critical note. Αμνος, Ἀρτυσίλεως, and Σησάμη are actually found: Dittenberger, *Sylloge*² 588. 86, *Bulletin de corr. hellén.*, 1882, 327.

ATHENAEUS

θοίναις. ἐλεὸς δ' ἔστιν ἡ μαγειρικὴ τράπεζα.
“Ομῆρος.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ρῷ ὥπτησε καὶ εἰν ἐλεοῦσιν ἔθηκε.

b δθεν καὶ Πολυκράτων ὁ Κρίθωνος Ῥημαιεὺς δίκην γραφόμενος οὐ Δηλίους αὐτοὺς διομάζει, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλεοδυτῶν ἐπητιάσατο. καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ νόμος κελεύει ὅδωρ παρέχειν ἐλεοδύτας, τοὺς τραπεζοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους διακόνους σημαίνων. Κρίτων δ' ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν Φιλοπράγμονι παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖ τοὺς Δηλίους διὰ τούτων.

c Φοίνικα μεγάλου κύριον βαλλαντίουν ναύκληρον ἐν τῷ λιμένι ποιήσας ἄπλουν καὶ φορμιώσαι ναῦς ἀναγκάσας δύο,¹ εἰς Δῆλον ἐλθεῖν ἡθέλησ² ἐκ Πειραιῶς, πάντων ἀκούων διότι παρασίτω τόπος οὗτος τρία μόνος³ ἀγαθὰ κεκτῆσθαι δοκεῖ, εὔοψον ἀγοράν, παντοδαπὸν δρμοῦντ⁴ ὅχλον, αὐτοὺς παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Δηλίους.

’Αχαιὸς δ' ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς ἐν Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ σατυρικῷ καρυκκοποιοὺς καλεῖ τοὺς Δελφοὺς διὰ τούτων.

d καρυκκοποιοὺς προσβλέπων βδελύττομαι, παρόσον τὰ ἱερέα περιτέμνοντες δῆλον ὡς ἐμαγείρευον αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκαρύκκευον. εἰς ταῦτα δὲ ἀποβλέπων καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη·

ἀλλ' ὁ Δελφῶν πλείστας ἀκονῶν,

¹ A corrupt line. Kock conj. φορτὶ “ώμαλ ναῦς θ' ἀμ' ἐγκάψας δύο,” having eaten up two cargoes alive and their ships besides.”

serve the food during the festivals. Now the *eleos* is the cook's table. Homer^a : "When, then, he had roasted and placed upon trays." Hence Polycraton of Rhenea, the son of Crithon, when he brought suit against them did not name them Delians, but brought charges against the "commonwealth of table-dodgers." And even the law of the Amphictyons requires that water shall be supplied by "table-dodgers," meaning the "table-makers" and servants of that sort. Criton the comic poet, in *The Busybody*,^b calls the Delians "parasites of the god" in these lines : "He, causing a Phoenician skipper, master of a mighty purse, to give up his voyage, and compelling him to bring two ships to anchor, wanted to go from Peiraeus to Delos, because he had heard that that was the one place in all the world which was reputed to possess three blessings for a parasite—a market well supplied with delicacies, a throng of idlers from all parts, and the Delians the very parasites of the god."

Achaeus of Eretria, in the satyric play *Alcmeon*,^c calls the people of Delphi "spiced-gravy-makers" in these lines : "I am sick of looking at spiced-gravy-makers," inasmuch as after trimming the meat of sacrifice they cooked it and served it with spiced sauces. And having regard to that Aristophanes^d also said : "But thou, Phoebus, who dost whet most

^a *Iliad* ix. 215.

^b Kock iii. 354; the text bristles with uncertainties, but the subject seems to be a parasite. See critical note. For παράσιτοι see 171 e.

^c T.G.F.² 749.

^d Kock i. 560.

² μένος Casaubon : μένον A.

³ ὄρμοῦντ' Kaibel, κυκῶντ' Lumb : οὐκούντ' A.

ATHENAEUS

Φοῦβε, μαχαιρας
καὶ προδιδάσκων τοὺς σοὺς προπόλους.
κἀν τοῖς ἔξῆς δ' ὁ Ἀχαιός φησιν.
τίς ὑποκεκρυμμένος μένει,
σαραβάκων κοπίδων¹ συνομώνυμε;

Θ επισκώπουσι γὰρ οἱ Σάτυροι τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὡς
 περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς θύνας διατρίβοντας.
 Σῆμος δ' ἐν δ' Δηλιάδος “Δελφοῖς, φησί, παρα-
 γινομένοις εἰς Δῆλον παρεῖχον Δήλιοι ἄλας καὶ
 ὅξος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ξύλα καὶ στρώματα.” Ἀριστο-
 τέλης δ' ἢ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι περὶ^f
 Μαγνήτων λέγων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ
 ὅτι Δελφῶν εἰσιν ἄποικοι τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπιτελοῦντας
 αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν χρέιας τοῖς παραγινομένοις τῶν
 ξένων, λέγων οὕτως· “Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάν-
 δρῳ ποταμῷ κατοικοῦντες ἵεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Δελφῶν
 ἄποικοι, παρέχουσι τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι στέγην, ἄλας,
 ἔλαιον, ὅξος, ἔτι λύχνον, κλίνας, στρώματα, τραπέ-
 ζας.” Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ
 Τρωικῷ διακόσμου ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ φησιν ἐπὶ τῆς
 ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ὑακινθίδος ἰδρῦσθαι ἥρωας
 Μάττωνα καὶ Κεράωνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις²
 ποιούντων τε τὰς μάζας καὶ κεραννύντων τὸν οἶνον
 174 διακόνων. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἴστορεῖ κἀν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ
 εἴκοστῷ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας Δαίτην ἥρωα
 τιμώμενον παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσίν, οὐ μημονεύειν

¹ Corrupt. τί δ' ὑποκεκρυμμένος μένεις, σαραβικῶν κοπίδων
 Meineke, “why do you remain hiding low, you who, etc”

² φιδιτίοις edd.: φειδιτίοις regularly AC. See 141 a, critical note.

^a Viz., the quotation given just before that from Aristophanes, T.G.F.² 749. See critical note. Reading σαραβικῶν, 288

numerous knives of the Delphians, and dost teach thy ministers betimes ” And in the lines which follow ^a Achaeus says . “ Who is he that remains hiding low, you who bear the same name with Sarre cleavers ? ” The chorus of satyrs, in fact, deride the Delphians for their assiduous devotion to sacrifices and festivities. And Semos, in the fourth book of the *History of Delos*,^b says that “ to the Delphians who came to Delos the Delians furnished salt, vinegar, oil, fuel, and bedding ” And Aristotle (or Theophrastus), speaking in his *Commentaries* of the Magnesians who dwell on the Maeander river, says that they are colonists from Delphi, and represents them as offering the same services to any foreigners who come among them. He says ^c : “ The Magnesians who dwell beside the Maeander river are consecrated to the god, being colonists of Delphi, and they offer to travellers shelter, salt, oil, and vinegar ; also a lamp, beds, bedding, and tables.” Demetrius of Skepsis, in the sixteenth book of his *Trojan Battle-order*,^d says that in Laconia, beside the road called “ Hyacinth,” there is a shrine of the heroes Matton (“ Kneader ”) and Ceraon (“ Mixer ”) which has been set up by the slaves who make the barley-cakes and mix the wine at the public mess. The same authority, in the twenty-fourth book of the same work,^e records a hero Daites (“ Feaster ”) honoured among the Trojans, who is mentioned by

“ of the river Sarre,” we are left ignorant of what the cleavers from there were like, unless indeed *σαραβικῶν* refers rather to *σάραβος*, the *pudenda muliebria*, in which case the vocative is highly opprobrious. If it is a Delphian who is addressed, there is a pun also on *Δελφός* and *δελφύς*, “ womb.”

^b F H G. iv. 493.^c Aristotle, *Frag* p. 392 Rose.^d Frag 10 Gaede. Cf. Athen. 39 c. ^e Frag 14 Gaede.

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Μίμινερμον. καν Κύπρω δέ φησι τιμᾶσθαι 'Ηγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς Δία Εἰλαπιναστήν τε καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμον.

Πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἔτι λεγομένων ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων τις ἔξηκουόσθη ὑδραύλεως ἥχος πάνυ τι ἥδὺς καὶ τερπνός, ὡς πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιστραφῆναι
b θελχθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμμελείας. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀλκείδην “ἀκούεις, ἔφη, μουσικώτατε ἀνδρῶν, τῆς καλῆς ταύτης συμφωνίας,¹ ἦτις ἡμᾶς ἐπέστρεψεν πάντας κατακηλθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς μουσικῆς; καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὁ παρ'
ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολὺς ὁ μόναυλος ἀλγηδόνα μᾶλλον τοῦς ἀκούοντι παρέχων ἢ τινα τέρψιν μουσικήν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀλκείδης ἔφη. “ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὄργανον τοῦτο ἢ ὑδραυλις, εἴτε τῶν ἐντατῶν αὐτὸς θέλεις εἴτε τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν, Ἀλεξανδρέως ἐστὶν ἡμεδαποῦ εὔρημα, κουρέως τὴν τέχνην. Κτησίβιος δ' ἀντῷ τοῦνομα. ἴστορεν δὲ τοῦτο
c Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ χορῶν οὐτωσὶ πως λέγων. ‘ζητεῖται δὲ πότερα τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν ἐστιν ὄργάνων ἢ ὑδραυλις ἢ τῶν ἐντατῶν Ἀριστόξενος μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οὐκ οἶδε· λέγεται δὲ Πλάτωνα μικράν τινα ἔννοιαν δοῦναι τοῦ κατασκευάσματος νυκτερινὸν ποιήσαντα ὠρολόγιον ἔοικός τῷ ὑδραυλικῷ οἷον κλεψύδραν μεγάλην λίαν. καὶ τὸ ὑδραυλικὸν δὲ ὄργανον δοκεῖ κλεψύδρα εἶναι. ἐντατὸν οὖν καὶ καθαπτὸν οὐκ ἀν νομισθείη, ἐμπνευστὸν δὲ ἀν ἵσως ρηθείη διὰ τὸ ἐμπνεῖσθαι τὸ ὄργανον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑδατος. κατεστραμμένοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ αὐλοὶ εἰς τὸ ὑδωρ, καὶ ἀρασσομένου τοῦ ὑδατος ὑπὸ τινος

¹ συμφωνίας Kaibel: εὐφωνίας A.

Mimnermus.^a And in Cyprus, Hegesander of Delphi says,^b Zeus is worshipped under the title "Companion at the Feast" and "Entrail-slicer."

While many remarks of this nature were still being made, there was heard from a neighbouring house the sound of a water-organ; it was very sweet and joyous, so that we all turned our attention to it, charmed by its tunefulness. And Ulpian, with a glance at the musician Alceides, said, "Do you hear, *maestro*, that beautiful harmony which has lured us all, completely beguiled by its music? It is not like the 'single-pipe' so common among you Alexandrians, which causes pain to the listeners rather than any musical delight." And Alceides said: "And yet that instrument, the water-organ, whether belonging to the class of string or wind instruments, as you choose, is the invention of one of our own Alexandrians, a barber by trade; and his name was Ctesibius Aristocles relates this, speaking in some such fashion as this in his work *On Choruses*: 'The question is debated whether the water-organ belongs to the wind or the stringed instruments. Now Aristoxenus, to be sure, does not know of it; but it is said that Plato imparted a slight hint of its construction in having made a time-piece for use at night which resembled a water-organ, being a very large water-clock. And in fact the water-organ does look like a water-clock. Therefore it cannot be regarded as a stringed instrument or a percussion instrument, but perhaps may be described as a wind instrument, since wind is forced into it by the water. For the pipes are set low in water, and as the water is briskly agitated by a

^a P.L.G.⁴ frag. 18.

^b F H.G. iv. 419.

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νεανίσκου, ἔτι δὲ διικνουμένων ἀξιών¹ διὰ τοῦ ὄργάνου ἐμπνέονται οἱ αὐλοὶ καὶ ἥχον ἀποτελοῦσι προσηγῆ. ἔοικεν δὲ τὸ ὄργανον βωμῷ στρογγύλῳ, καὶ φασὶ τοῦτο εὑρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Κτησίβεου κουρέως ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντος ἐν τῇ Ἀσπενδίᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Εὐεργέτου, διαπρέψαι τέ φασι μεγάλως. τουτονὶ οὖν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ διδάξαι γυναικα Θαῖδα.² Τρύφων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ ὀνομασιῶν (ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ σύγγραμμα περὶ αὐλῶν καὶ ὄργάνων) συγγράψαι φησὶ περὶ τῆς ὑδραύλεως Κτησίβειον τὸν μηχανικόν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα σφάλλεται. ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστόξενος προκρίνει τὰ ἐντατὰ καὶ καθαπτὰ τῶν ὄργάνων τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν, ράδια³ εἶναι φάσκων τὰ ἐμπνευστά· πολλοὺς γάρ μὴ διδαχθέντας αὐλεῖν τε καὶ συρίζειν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ποιμένας. καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔχω σοι ἐγὼ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ ὑδραυλικοῦ ὄργάνου, Οὐλπιανέ γυγγράνοισι γάρ οἱ Φοίνικες, ὡς φησιν δὲ Ξενοφῶν,⁴ ἔχρωντο αὐλοῖς σπιθαμαιάσις τὸ μέγεθος, ὅξν καὶ γοερὸν φθεγγομένοις. τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ Κάρες χρῶνται ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ η Καρία Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς παρὰ Κορώνη καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν. ὄνομάζονται δὲ οἱ αὐλοὶ γίγγυροι ὑπὸ τῶν Φοινίκων ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀδωνιν θρήνων· τὸν 175 γάρ Ἀδωνιν Γίγγυρην⁵ καλεῖτε ὑμεῖς οἱ Φοίνικες, ὡς ἵστορει Δημοκλείδης. μνημονεύει τῶν γίγ-

¹ ἀξιών (ἀξεων ?), I believe, is an attempt to transliterate Lat. *axium* or *assum*, Vitruvius, x. 8. 4: cf. *alθριον* for *atrium*, 206 a : ἀξιών Dalechamp

² ράδια A, ράω C· but ράδια may mean "too easy," as δλίγον means "too little."

³ Τρύφων Βαρρ: Ξενοφάνης Bergk

⁴ Γίγγυρη A: Γίγγρα Pollux iv 76.

boy, air is released in the pipes through certain valves^a which fit into the pipes from one side of the organ to the other, and a pleasant sound is produced. The organ is shaped like a round altar,^b and is said to have been invented by Ctesibius, a barber who lived there in Aspendia during the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II.; and they say that he became very famous; he, indeed, even taught his wife Thaïs.^c Tryphon, in the third book *On the Use of Terms*^e (the treatise has to do with pipes and instruments), says that Ctesibius the engineer wrote an account of the water-organ. I am not sure whether he is mistaken in the name. Aristoxenus, it is true, prefers string and percussion instruments to wind instruments, alleging that wind instruments are too easy; for, he says, many persons, like shepherds, can play the flute and the Pan's pipe without having been taught. All this, Ulpian, I have to tell you concerning the water-organ. Yes, I may add that the Phoenicians, according to Xenophon,^d used 'gingras' pipes, which were only nine inches long, and gave forth a tone high-pitched and plaintive. These are used also by the Carians in their songs of mourning; unless, to be sure, Caria was also called Phoenicia, examples for which may be found in Corinna and in Bacchylides.^e Pipes were called *gingri* by the Phoenicians, and were associated with the laments for Adonis; for you Phoenicians^f call Adonis *Gingras*, as Democleides records. The

^a See critical note.^b So Vitruvius, x. 8. 2.^c Frag. 111 Velsen.^d See critical note, the Ionic dative *γιγρατοῖσι* indicates a poetic source. The word, explained in the following line, is foreign.^e P L G.⁴ m. 550, 586^f Ulpian came from Tyre

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γρων αὐλῶν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἱατρῷ καὶ Μένανδρος
ἐν Καρίνῃ Ἀμφις τ' ἐν Διθυράμβῳ λέγων οὕτως·

ἔγὼ δὲ τὸν γίγγραν γε¹ τὸν σοφώτατον.

Β. τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ γίγγρας; Α. καινὸν ἔξεύρημά τι
ἡμέτερον, ὁ θεάτρῳ μὲν οὐδεπώποτε
ἔδειξ²,³ Ἀθήνησιν δὲ κατακεχρημένου

b ἐν συμποσίοις ἥδη στί.³ Β. διὰ τί δ' οὐκ ἄγεις
εἰς τὸν ὅχλον αὐτό; Α. διότι φυλὴν περιμένω
σφόδρα φιλονικοῦσαν λαχεῖν τιν'. οἶδα γὰρ
ὅτι πάντα πράγματα ἀνατριανώσει⁴ κρότοις.

καὶ Ἀξιόνικος ἐν Φιλευριπίδῃ·

οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσι τοῖς Εὐριπίδου
ἄμφω νοσοῦσιν, ὥστε τᾶλλ' αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν
εἶναι μέλη γιγγραντὰ καὶ κακὸν μέγα.

c Πόσω δὲ κρεῖττον, ὡς Οὐλπιανὴ σοφώτατε, τὸ
ὑδραυλικὸν τοῦτο ὄργανον τοῦ καλουμένου νάβλα,
ὅν φησι Σώπατρος ὁ παρῷδὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ
δράματι Πύλαι Φοινίκων εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον εὔρημα.
λέγει δ' οὕτως.

οὗτε τοῦ Σιδωνίου νάβλα
λαρυγγόφωνος ἐκκεχόρδωται τύπος.

καὶ ἐν Μυστάκου δὲ θητίῳ φησί·

¹ γίγγραν γε Jacobs: γίγγραντε A.

² ἔδειξ Erfurdt: ἔδειχθη A.

³ ἥδη στί Dindorf: ἥδιστον A.

⁴ ἀνατριανώσει Kaibel: ἀνατριανώσι A.

^a Kock II. 54.

gingras pipes are mentioned by Antiphanes in *The Physician*,^a Menander in *The Carian Wailing-woman*,^b and Amphis in *Dithyrambus*^c; his words are as follows: ‘A But I like the *gingras*, that most clever device. B. But what is the *gingras*? A. A new invention of mine, which, to be sure, I have never yet displayed in the theatre, though it has already come into fashion at Athenian symposia. B. Why don’t you introduce it to the mob? A. Because I am waiting for a very enterprising tribe to adopt it.^d For I am sure that it will revolutionize everything with the trident of applause’ And Axionicus in *Lover of Euripides*^e. ‘For both have such a morbid passion for the lyrics of Euripides, that everything else in their eyes seems the wail of a scannel (*gingras*) pipe and a mighty bore.’

“How much better, wisest Ulpian, this water-organ is than the so-called *nablas*,^f which the parodist Sopater, in the play entitled *The Portal*,^g says is likewise an invention of Phoenicians. These are his words: ‘Nor has the deep-toned thrum of the Sidonian nablas passed from the strings.’ And in *The Slavey of Mystacus*^h he says · ‘In the articulation

^b Kock ii. 75. The title refers to the profession of hired mourners, still brought from great distances in Greece to sing traditional dirges at a funeral.

^c Kock ii. 239. The title may be an epithet of Dionysus, inspirer of the orgiastic dithyramb, and Dionysus is probably the speaker, boasting a power, exercised through the mob, equal to that of Poseidon’s trident. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 492 b-c.

^d Referring to the drawing of lots to determine in which tribe a newly naturalized citizen shall be enrolled.

^e Kock ii. 412.

^f A stringed instrument; the argument is intended to refute the contention of Aristoxenus (174 e) that stringed instruments are superior

^g Kaibel 195.

^h Kaibel 194.

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νάβλας ἐν ἄρθροις γραμμάτων οὐκ εὔμελής,
ὡς λωτὸς ἐν πλευροῖσιν ἄψυχος παγεὶς¹
d ἔμπινουν ἀνίει μοῦσαν. ἐγρέτου δέ τις²
τὸν ἡδονῆς³ μελῳδὸν εὐάζων χορόν.

Φιλήμων ἐν Μοιχῷ·

ἔδει παρεῖναι, Παρμένων, αὐλητρὸς ἢ
νάβλαν τιν'. π. ὁ δὲ νάβλας τι ἔστιν; . . .
A. . . . οὐδας, ἐμβρόντητε σύ;
π. μὰ Δία. A. τι φής; οὐκ οἰσθα νάβλαν;
οὐδὲν οὖν
οἰσθ' ἀγαθόν. οὐδὲ σαμβυκίστριαν;

Καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον δὲ καλούμενον ὄργανον Ἰόβας
ἐν τετάρτῳ θεατρικῆς ἴστορίας Σύρων εὕρημά
φησιν εἶναι, ὡς καὶ τὸν καλούμενον λυροφοίνικα
. . . . σαμβύκην. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄργανον Νεάνθης
e ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν α' "Ωρῶν εὕρημα εἴναι λέγει Ἰβύκου
τοῦ Ρηγώνου ποιητοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος τὸ
βάρβιτον ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων κατα-
τρέχεις ὡς ἀμούσων καὶ τὸν μόναυλον συνεχῶς ὀνο-
μάζεις ἐπιχωριάζοντα παρ' ἡμῖν, ἄκουε καὶ περὶ⁴
αὐτοῦ ἂν νῦν ἔχω σοι λέγειν ἐν προχείρῳ. Ἰόβας
μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ συγγράμματι Αἰγυπ-
τίους φησὶν λέγειν τὸν μόναυλον Ὁσίριδος εἴναι
εὕρημα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον φώτιγγα
πλαγίαυλον, οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ παραστήσομαι μνημο-

¹ παγεὶς Casaubon (the only certain correction in this corrupt fragment): παγὶς A.

² Schweighäuser conjectures ἐγρετ' οὐδέ τις, which I have translated.

³ Ἀδώνιδος Kaibel.

"Punning on the two senses of εὔμελής "pretty" and "melodious."

^b Kock II. 489.

of its lines the nablas is not pretty^a; fixed in its ribs is lifeless lotus wood, which gives forth a breathing music. None was ever stirred to hail with cries of *evoe!*^b the melodious band of pleasure.' Philemon in *The Fancy Man*^b: 'A. We ought to have with us, Parmenon, a flute-girl, or a nablas. P. And what is the nablas? A. You don't know, lunatic? P. Not I, by Zeus. A. What can you mean? You don't know a nablas?^c Then you don't know what anything good is. Don't you even know what a sambuca-player is?^d

"As for the instrument called the 'triangle'^a Juba, in the fourth book of his *History of the Stage*,^e says that it is a Syrian invention, as is also the so-called 'lyre-Phoenician' . . . and the 'sambuca'. But this last instrument Neanthes of Cyzicus, in Book I. of his *Annals*,^f says was the invention of Ibycus, the well-known poet of Rhegium, as the 'barbiton'^g was an invention of Anacreon. Since you run down us Alexandrians as being unmusical, and continually name the 'single-pipe' as widely used in our country, listen now to what I can tell you offhand about it. Juba, in the before-mentioned history, says that the Egyptians call the 'single-pipe' an invention of Osiris, just as they do the cross-flute which is called the *photinx*; for the mention of this also I

^a Equivalent to asking "Have you never seen a ukelele?" The sambuca was a triangular instrument with four strings, and of foreign origin. Cf. Athen. 633 f.

^b Not the percussion instrument of a modern orchestra, but a three-cornered harp, with strings of unequal length. Cf. the arrangement of strings in a modern harp or grand piano. ^c F.H.G. iii 481. ^d ibid. iii 3

^e Called "the many-stringed," Theocrit. xvi. 45. It also was foreign.

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ἵνεύοντα ἐλλόγιμον ἄνδρα. ἐπιχωριάζει γὰρ καὶ ὁ φῶτιγξ αὐλὸς παρ' ἡμῖν. τοῦ δὲ μοναύλου μημονεύει Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ἐν Θαμύρᾳ οὕτως·

οἴχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη,
λύραι μόναυλοί θ' οἷς ἔχαιρομεν τέως.¹
ναούς τ' ἐρημοῖ πισσοκωνίας Ἀρης.²

Ἀραρὼς δ' ἐν Πανὸς γοναῖς·

ἀναρπάσας μόναυλον εὐθὺς πῶς δοκεῖς
κούφως ἀνήλλετο.

176 Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Θησαυρῷ·

ἀναλαβὼν
μόναυλον ηὔλουν τὸν ὑμέναιον.
καὶ ἐν Φιαληφόρῳ·

. . . τὸν μόναυλον ποῖ τέτροφας; οὗτος Σύρε.
B. ποῖον μόναυλον; A. τὸν κάλαμον.

Σώπατρος Βακχίδι·

καὶ τὸ μόναυλον μέλος ἥχησε.

Πρωταγορίδης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ πανηγύρεών φησιν· “παντὸς δὲ ἢ ὅργάνου κατὰ μίτον³ ἥπται, κροτάλων, ὑπὸ φανοῦ,⁴ πανδούρου, τῷ τε ἥδεῖ μοναύλῳ τὰς ἥδίστας ἀρμονίας ἀναμικρίζει.” Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἴστοριῶν διηγούμενος περὶ τοῦ Ἀπαμέων πρὸς Λαρισαίους πολέμου γράφει τάδε· “παραξωνίδια καὶ λογχάρι⁵ ἀνειληφότες ἵῳ καὶ ρύπῳ κεκρυμ-

¹ μόναυλοί θ' οἷς ἔχαιρομεν τέως Nauck. μοναύλοις τε χειμωντεως A.

² ναούς τ' . . . “Ἀρης Ellis. ναος στέρημα κωμασάσης. The

will cite a distinguished authority. It is true, to be sure, that the photinx is a pipe which is peculiar to our country, but the ‘single-pipe’ is mentioned thus by Sophocles in *Thamyras*^a: ‘Gone are the strains of the plucked harp strings, gone the lyres and the single-pipes in which erstwhile we had delight; Ares, who ta's and burns, now desolates our shrines.’ And Araros in *The Birth of Pan*^b: ‘He snatched up a single-pipe straightway, you can’t conceive how deftly, and began to leap with light step.’ Anaxandrides in *The Treasure*^c: ‘Picking up a single-pipe I began to play the hymeneal song.’ And in *The Cup-bearer*^d: ‘A. What have you done with my single-pipe, you Syrian? B. Single-pipe? What do you mean? A. The reed.’ Sopater in *Bacchis*^e: ‘He sounded the strain from the single-pipe.’

‘Protagorides of Cyzicus, in the second book of his work *On the Games at Daphne*,^f says: ‘He has laid fingers to every instrument, one after the other—castanets, tambourine,^g pandura, and on the sweet single-pipe he hums again the sweetest scales.’ And Poseidonius, the philosopher of the Porch, narrating the story of the war between the Apameans and Larisaean, in the third book of his *Histories*^h writes the following: ‘They grasped daggers and small lances covered with rust and dirt; they put

^a T.G. F.² 182.

^b Kock ii. 217.

^c Kock ii. 142.

^d Koch ii. 158.

^e Kaibel 192

^f F.H.G. iv. 484.

^g See critical note.

^h F.H.G. iii. 253; circa 142 B.C.

reading here adopted for a text which must remain incurable is simply to make possible some sort of translation.

³ καταμίτον A. Corrupt.

⁴ Corrupt: Kaibel conj. τυμπάνου.

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μένα, πετάσια δ' ἐπιτεθειμένοι καὶ προσκόπια σκιὰν μὲν ποιοῦντα, καταπνεῖσθαι δ' οὐ κωλύοντα τοὺς τραχῆλους, ὅνους ἐφελκόμενοι γέμοντας εἰς οἴνου καὶ βρωμάτων παντοδαπῶν, οἷς παρέκειτο φωτίγγια καὶ μοναύλια, κώμων οὐ πολέμων ὅργανα.” (οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις τιτύρινόν φησι καλεῖσθαι τὸν μόναυλον.) ἵδε ἀπέχεις, καλὲ Οὐλπιανέ, καὶ τὸν τῆς φωτιγγος μημονεύοντα· ὅτι δὲ ὁ μόναυλος ἦν ὁ νῦν καλούμενος καλαμαύλης σαφῶς παρίστησιν Ἡδύλος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν οὗτωσὶ λέγων.

τοῦτο¹ Θέων ὁ μόναυλος ὑπ’ ἡρίον ὁ γλυκὺς οἰκεῖ αὐλητής, μίμων ἢ ² ν³ θυμέλησι χάρις.
d τυφλὸς ὑπαὶ γήρως εἶχεν καὶ Σκίρπαλον υἱόν,
 τήπιον ὄντ’ ἐκάλει Σκίρπαλον⁴ Εὐπαλάμου,
 ἀείδων⁴ αὐτοῦ τὰ γενέθλια· τοῦτο γάρ εἶχεν
 τὴν παλαμῶν ἀρετὴν τοῦνομα⁵ σημανέων.
 ηὕλει δὴ Γλαύκης μεμεθυσμένα παίγνια Μουσέων
 ἢ τὸν ἐν ἀκρήτοις Βάτταλον ἥδυπότην
 ἢ καὶ Κώταλον ἢ καὶ Πάκαλον. ἀλλὰ Θέωνα
 τὸν καλαμαύλητην εἴπατε “χαῖρε Θέων”

ῶσπερ οὖν τοὺς τῷ καλάμῳ αὐλοῦντας καλαμαύλας λέγουσιν νῦν, οὕτω καὶ ῥάπταύλας, ὡς φησιν Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις, τοὺς τῇ ῥάπτῃ⁶ τῇ καλάμῃ αὐλοῦντας.

¹ τοῦτο added by Musurus

² μίμων ἢ ν Kaibel: μιμωμενην A.

³ Σκίρπαλον Casaubon: σκίρπαλος A · σκίρπαλον Hermol Barbarus

⁴ ἀείδων Schweighauser: ἀείδειν αὐτοῦ A.

⁵ τὴν παλαμῶν ἀρετὴν τοῦνομα Jacobs: πανμαρπᾶν ηδυσμα A.

on hats with visors, which afforded shade, but did not prevent breathing at the throat^a; they carried with them drinking-horns full of wine and food of every variety, and beside these lay small flutes and single-pipes, implements of revel, not of battle.^b (But I am not ignorant that Amerias of Macedon in his *Dialect Dictionary* says that the single-pipe is called ‘tityrine.’^c) So now you have, good Ulpian, the authority for the word *photinx*^c; and that the ‘single-piper’ was what is to-day called ‘reed-piper’ is plainly attested by what Hedylus says in the following lines of epigrammatic verse: ‘Beneath this mound Theon dwells, he of the single-pipe, the sweet flute-player, the charmer who accompanied the mimes on the stage. When blind with age he had even a son, Scirpalus, whom when a babe he called Scirpalus, son of Ready-hand, as he sang at his nativity; for he bore this name to signify the skill of his hands. So piped he the drunken bagatelles of the Muses sung by Glauce, or the tune of the Stutterer who delights in the drinking of unmixed wine, or of Cotalus or Pacalus.^d Nay, then, of Theon the reed-piper say, Farewell, Theon! Precisely, then, as they call persons who play on a reed-pipe (*calamus*) *calamaulae*, so do they call those who play on the *rappa*, which is also a reed, *rappaulae*, as Amerias of Macedon tells us in his *Dialect Dictionary*

^a i.e. they were not strapped too tightly at the throat.

^b “shepherd’s-pipe”? Cf. 182 d. The sentence in parenthesis is out of order

^c “cross-flute,” 175 e

^d Titles of popular songs. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1356
τὸν Κριόν, “The Ram.”

^e τὴν φάππην added (Gulick): τὴν καλάμη may be a gloss (Kaibel).

ATHENAEUS

Γινώσκειν δὲ βούλομαι σε, ἀνδρῶν λῶστε
 Οὐλπιανέ, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων μουσικώτεροι ἄλλοι
 γενέσθαι οὐχ ἴστόρηνται, καὶ οὐ λέγω περὶ κιθαρώ-
 δίαν μόνην, ἡς καὶ ὁ εὐτελέστατος παρ' ἡμῖν
 ἴδιωτης προσέτι τε καὶ ἀναλφάβητος οὕτως ἔστι
 συνήθης ὡς τάχιστα ἐλέγχειν τὰ παρὰ τὰς κρούσεις
 ἀμαρτήματα γυνόμενα, ἄλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐλούς εἰσι
 μουσικώτατοι οὐ μόνον τοὺς παρθενίους καλου-
 μένους καὶ παιδικούς, ἄλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους,
 οἵτινες καλοῦνται τέλειοι τε καὶ ὑπερτέλειοι, καὶ
 τοὺς κιθαριστηρίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς δακτυλικούς.
 τοὺς γὰρ ἐλύμους αὐλούς, ὃν μημονεύει Σοφοκλῆς
 ἐν Νιόβῃ τε κάν Τυμπανισταῖς, οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς
 εἶναι ἀκούομεν ἢ τοὺς Φρυγίους, ὃν καὶ αὐτῶν
 ἐμπείρως ἔχουσιν Ἀλεξανδρέες. οἴδασι δὲ καὶ
 τοὺς διόπους ἔτι τε μεσοκόπους καὶ τοὺς καλου-
 μένους ὑποτρήτους. τῶν δ' ἐλύμων αὐλῶν μημο-
 177 νεύει καὶ Καλλίας ἐν Πεδήταις Ἰόβας δὲ τούτους
 Φρυγῶν μὲν εἶναι εὔρημα, ὄνομάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ
 σκυταλεῖας, κατ' ἐμφέρειαν τοῦ πάχους. χρῆσθαι
 δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Κυπρίους φησὶ Κρατῦνος ὁ νεώτερος
 ἐν Θηραμένει.¹ οἴδαμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόπους
 καλουμένους, περὶ ὃν φησιν Ἀνακρέων.

τίς ἐρασμίην
 τρέψας θυμὸν ἐσ ἥβην² τερένων ἡμιόπων ὑπ'
 αὐλῶν
 ὀρχεῖται;

¹ Θηραμένει Kock : θηραμένη A.

² ἐσ ἥβην Mehlhorn : ἐσέβην A.

^a All these varieties are mentioned again, 634 f.

^b T.G.F.² 229, 271. ^c Kock i. 697.

^d "Staff" here means the special rod used by the Spartans

"I would have you know, most noble Ulpian, that there is no record in history of other people more musical than the Alexandrians. and I am not speaking merely of singing to the harp, for even the humblest layman among us, even one who has never learned his ABC, is so familiar with that, that he can immediately detect the mistakes which occur in striking the notes ; no, even when it comes to pipes, they are most musical ; not merely the pipes called 'virginal' and 'child' but also those called 'virile,' which again are called 'complete' and 'super-complete,' also the pipes used to accompany harps, as well as the 'finger'-pipes.^a And these are not all ; for the pipes called 'elymi,' which are mentioned by Sophocles in *Niobe* and in *The Tambourine-Players*,^b are none other, as we hear, than the 'Phrygian' pipes with which also the Alexandrians are well acquainted. They know, too, of the pipes with two holes, of those again of middle size, and of those called 'low-bore.' The 'elymi' pipes are mentioned also by Callias in *Shackled*.^c Juba says that they are an invention of Phrygians, and that they are also called 'staff'-pipes, being like the staff^d in thickness Cyprians used them as well, says the younger Cratinus in *Theramenes*.^e I know also of those called half-holed,^f about which Anacreon^g says : 'Who hath directed his desire toward lovely youth, and dances to the strains of tender half-holed pipes ?'

in their official dispatches. Round them was rolled spirally the writing material ; the message was written lengthwise, and it could not be read after removal from the rod unless it was wound round another rod of the same thickness.

^a Kock ii. 290. ^z

^f With three holes, not the customary six.

^g P.L G.⁴ frag. 20.

ATHENAEUS

εἰσὶ δ' οἱ αὐλοὶ οὗτοι ἐλάσσονες τῶν τελείων.
 182 Αἰσχύλος γοῦν¹ κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἐν Ἰξίονι φησι·

c τὸν δ' ἡμίοπον (καὶ τὸν ἐλάσσονα)²
 ταχέως ὁ μέγας καταπίνει.

εἰσὶν δ' οἱ αὐτὸὶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς καλουμένοις, οἷς
 οὐκ οὖσιν ἔναγωνίοις πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας χρῶνται.
 διὸ καὶ τέρενας αὐτοὺς κέκληκεν ὁ Ἀνακρέων.
 οἵδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα γένη αὐλῶν τραγικῶν τε καὶ
 λυσιψδικῶν³ καὶ κιθαριστηρίων, ὃν μητημονεύοντιν
 "Ἐφορός τ' ἐν τοῖς εὑρήμασι καὶ Εὐφράνωρ ὁ
 Πυθαγορικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐλῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ "Αλεξί^d
 δ ὁν⁴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐλῶν. ὁ δὲ καλάμιος
 αὐλὸς τιτύρινος καλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
 Δωριεῦσιν, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἴστορεν ὁ Ἀριστο-
 φάνειος ἐν β' περὶ Δωρίδος. "ο δὲ μάγαδις
 καλούμενος αὐλός." καὶ πάλιν. "ο μάγαδις ὀνο-
 μαζόμενος ἐν ταῦτῳ ὁξὺν καὶ βαρὺν φθόγγον ἐπι-
 δείκνυται, ὡς Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ὁπλομάχῳ φησί·

μαγάδι⁵ λαλήσω μικρὸν ἄμα σοι καὶ μέγα.⁷
 οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι λώτινοι αὐλοὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὸ^e
 Ἀλεξανδρέων καλούμενοι φώτιγγες. κατασκευά-
 ζονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου λωτοῦ. ξύλον δ'
 ἔστι τοῦτο γυνόμενον ἐν Λιβύῃ. Θηβαίων δ'

¹ After γοῦν A has at the end of fol. 55 κατὰ μετασπουδά-
 γοντας εἰσῆγαγεν (Book v. 187 b), continuing to Book v.
 182 b, φύγεν ἔρκος ὁδόντων. Then follow κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἐν
 Ἰξίονι and the rest of the text as far as Book v. 187 b, ἀπ'
 ἀλλης προαιρέσεως. All editors have followed Casaubon in
 transposing

² καὶ τὸν ἐλάσσονα, deleted by Bothe, may be an explanatory phrase of Athenaeus. Hence I have put it in parenthesis: καὶ τὸν ἐλάσσονα Porson.

³ λυσιψδικῶν Hiller: λυσιωδῶν AC

These are shorter than the ‘complete’ pipes Aeschylus, at any rate, in a figure of speech says in *Ixion*^a: ‘The half-holed’ (that is, the smaller) ‘is easily engulfed by the great.’ They are the same as those called ‘child’ pipes, which are not adapted to the public games, but are used at dinner-parties; that is why Anacreon calls them ‘tender.’ I know of other kinds of pipes as well—the ‘tragic,’ the pipes used by women impersonating men,^b and the pipes used for accompanying a harp, which are mentioned by Ephorus in *Inventions*^c and Euphranor the Pythagorean in his book *On Pipes*, and again Alexis also . . . in his own work *On Pipes*. The reed-pipe is called ‘tityrine’^d among the Dorians of Italy, as Artemidorus, the disciple of Aristophanes, records in the second book of his *Doric Dialect*, ‘The magadis is a pipe.’^e And again. ‘That named magadis can produce at the same moment a high and a low tone, as Anaxandrides says in *The Drill-Sergeant*^f: “With my magadis I will babble to you something at once soft and loud.”’ But the so-called ‘lotus’-pipes are what the Alexandrians call ‘photinges’; they are made of lotus, as it is called, which is a wood that grows in Libya. Juba says

^a *T.G.F.*² 30.^b Cf. 620 e, and 211 b, 252 e, called λυσιψδικοί, because the songs were written by one Lysis.^c *F.H.G.* i 276.^d Cf. 176 c.^e Quotations from Tryphon, as may be seen from 634 e.^f Kock ii 149.⁴ ἀλεξίς ὅν A, which is unintelligible as it stands Ἀλέξων Schweighauser: Ἀμιστόξενος? Cf. 634 d⁵ ὁ δὲ . . . μάγαδις Athen. 634 e (quoted from Tryphon).⁶ δέ . . . καὶ παλαιομάγαδις A.⁶ μαγάδι Kaibel (μάγαδι Meineke). μάγαδιν A⁷ μέγα Schweighauser: μέγαν A.

ATHENAEUS

εῦρημά φησιν εἶναι Ἰόβας τὸν ἐκ νεφροῦ κώλων
κατασκευαζόμενον αὐλόν. ὁ δὲ Τρύφων φησὶ¹
καὶ τὸν καλουμένους ἐλεφαντίνους αὐλοὺς παρὰ
Φοίνιξιν ἀνατρηθῆναι.

Οἶδα δὲ ὅτι καὶ μάγαδις ὄργανόν ἔστιν ἐντατὸν
καθάπερ καὶ κιθάρα, λύρα, βάρβιτον. Εὐφορίων
δὲ ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων “οἱ νῦν,
φῆσιν, καλούμενοι ναβλισταὶ καὶ πανδουρισταὶ
καὶ σαμβυκισταὶ καινῶ μὲν οὐδενὶ χρῶνται
ἢ ὄργανω· τὸν γὰρ βάρωμον² καὶ βάρβιτον, ὃν
Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέων μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τὴν
μάγαδιν καὶ τὰ τρίγωνα καὶ τὰς σαμβύκας
ἀρχαῖα εἶναι ἐν γοῦν Μιτυλήνῃ μίαν τῶν Μουσῶν
πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Λεσβοθέμιδος ἔχουσαν σαμβύκην.”
Ἀριστόξενος δὲ ἔκφυλα ὄργανα καλεῖ φοίνικας
καὶ πηκτίδας καὶ μαγάδιδας σαμβύκας τε καὶ
τρίγωνα καὶ κλεψιάμβους καὶ σκινδαψοὺς καὶ τὸ
ἐννεάχορδον καλούμενον. Πλάτων δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ
Πολιτείας φησίν “οὐκ ἄρα, ἦν δὲ ἐγώ, πολυ-
χορδίας γε οὐδὲ παναρμονίου ἥμιν δεήσει ἐν ταῖς
ῳδαῖς τε καὶ μέλεσιν. οὐ μοι, ἔφη, φαίνεται.
183 τριγώνων ἄρα καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ πάντων ὄργανων
ὅσα πολύχορδα καὶ παναρμόνια. . . .” ἔστιν δὲ
ὅ σκινδαψὸς τετράχορδος ὄργανον, ὡς ὁ παρῷδός
φησι Μάτρων ἐν τούτοις.

οὐδὲ ἀπὸ² πασσαλόφιν κρέμασαν, ὅθι³ περ τε-
τάνυστο
σκινδαψὸς τετράχορδος ἀνηλακάτοιο γυναικός.

¹ More correctly βάρμον 636 c.

² ἀπὸ Μεινέκε : ὑπὸ A.

³ ὅθι Musurus · ὅτι A.

that the pipe made from fawn's legs is an invention of Thebans.^a Tryphon says^b that the pipes called 'ivory' were bored by Phoenicians.

"But I know that the 'magadis' is also a stringed instrument like the 'kithara,' 'lyra,' or 'barbiton'^c The epic poet Euphorion, in his treatise on the *Isthmian Games*,^d says that 'the persons now called nablas-players,^e panduristae, and sambuca-players use no newly invented instrument; for the 'baromos' and the 'barbiton,' which Sappho and Anacreon mention, the 'magadis,' the 'triangles,'^f and the 'sambucas' are old. In Mitylene, at any rate, one of the Muses is portrayed by Lesbothemis holding a sambuca.' Aristoxenus calls foreign all stringed instruments bearing the name of 'phoenix,' 'pectis,' 'magadis,' 'sambuca,' 'triangle,' 'clepsiamb,' 'scindapsus' and the 'nine-stringed,' as it is called. Plato, in the third book of *The Republic*^g says: ' "We shall not, then," said I, "require an instrument of many strings or one on which all the musical modes can be played in our songs and lyrics" "Plainly not," said he. "As for triangles, then, and pectides, and all instruments which have many strings and can be played in many modes. . . ." The 'scindapsus' is an instrument with four strings, as the parodist Matron says in these lines^h: 'And they hung it not to the peg on which lay outspread the tetrachord scindapsus of the woman who knew not

^a Varieties of the harp or lyre. ^a Frag. 32 Müller.

^b 175 b-c; the terms which follow refer to instruments of the harp family, *P.L.G.*⁴ iii. 136, 291.

^c See 175 d, note d.

^d 399 c Supply at the end of the quotation δημιουργούσι οὐ θρέψομεν, "to the artisans who make such instruments we will give no support." ^h Frag. 5 Brandt.

ATHENAEUS

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεόπομπος δὲ Κολοφώνιος
ἐποποιὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρματίῳ.

b σκινδαψὸν λυρόεντα μέγαν χείρεσσι τινάσσων,
οἰσύνιον¹ προμάλοιο τετυγμένον αἰζήντος·

καὶ Ἀναξίλας ἐν Λυροποιῷ·

ἔγὼ δὲ βαρβίτους, τριχόρδους, πηκτίδας,
κιθάρας, λύρας, σκινδαψὸν² ἔξηρτυόμαν.

Σώπατρος δὲ δὲ παρωδὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ
Μυστάκου θητίῳ³ δίχορδον εἴναι φησι τὴν πηκτίδα
λέγων οὕτως·

c πηκτὶς δὲ Μούσῃ γαυριῶσα βαρβάρω
δίχορδος εἰς σὴν χεῖρά πως κατεστάθη.

τῶν δὲ παριαμβίδων Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Περιάλλῳ
μνημονεύει οὕτως·

Σεμέλα δὲ χορεύει·
καὶ ὑπαυλεῖ σφιν⁴ σοφὸς κιθάρᾳ παριαμβίδας·
ἄ δὲ γεγάθει
πυκινῶν κρεγμῶν ἀκροαζομένα.

Τὸ δὲ ψαλτήριον, ὡς φησιν Ἰόβας, Ἀλέξανδρος
ὁ Κυθήριος συνεπλήρωσε χορδαῖς καὶ ἔγγηράσσας
τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλει ὡς σοφώτατον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
τέχνης τουτὶ τὸ εὑρημα ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος.
μνημονεύει δὲ δὲ Ἰόβας καὶ τοῦ λυροφοίνικος καὶ
d τοῦ ἐπιγονείου, δὲ νῦν εἰς ψαλτήριον ὅρθιον μετα-

¹ οἰσύνιον Kaibel: δξύνιον ("of beech") A.

² Cobet proposed Doric forms throughout: βαρβίτος,
τριχόρδος, πακτίδας . σκινδαψός. (the last required by
the metre)

the distaff.' Theopompus, the epic poet of Colophon, also mentions it in the poem called *Little Chariot* ^a ' Holding in his arms a mighty lyre-like scindapsus, made of withes from the lusty willow.' And Anaxilas in *The Harp-maker* ^b . ' I used to make barbiti, trichords, pectides, citharas, lyres, scindapsi ' Sopater, in the play entitled *The Slavey of Mystacus*,^c says that the 'pectis' has two strings ; his words are . ' And the two-stringed pectis, which boasts a barbaric muse, has somehow been placed in thy hand.' Epicharmus mentions airs for the harp (*pariambides*) in *Periallus* ^d thus : ' Semele dances ; and one skilled in the cithara pipes ^e for them harp airs in accompaniment ; and she makes merry as she listens to the loud crackle of the tones.'

" Alexander of Cythera, as Juba says,^f perfected the 'psaltery' with a larger number of strings, and since in his old age he lived in the city of Ephesus, he dedicated this invention, as the most ingenious product of his skill, in the temple of Artemis. Juba also mentions the 'lyre-Phoenician' and the 'epigoneum,'^g which to-day, although it has been re-fashioned

^a Powell 28.

^b Kock II 267.

^c Kaibel 194

^d Kaibel 111

^e The reading is uncertain, but there is no inconsistency ; cf. Photius, παριαμβίδες· λιθαρψικοὶ οὗμοι οἵς προσηλούν, "pariambides are nomes for harp singers to which they played pipe accompaniments "

^f F H.G. III 484

^g Ibid 482. The epigoneum was a large harp named after a certain Epigonus, as the saxophone was named after one Saxe

³ Μυστάκου θητίω Wilamowitz μύστα A.

⁴ ὑπαυλεῖ σφιν Schweighauser : ὑπαλισφιν A.

ATHENAEUS

σχηματισθὲν διασώζει τὴν τοῦ χρησαμένου προστηγορίαν. ἦν δ' ὁ Ἐπίγονος φύσει μὲν Ἀμβρακιώτης, δημοποίητος δὲ Σικυώνιος· μουσικώτατος δ' ὧν κατὰ χεῖρα δίχα πλήκτρου ἔψαλλεν. πάντων οὖν τούτων τῶν προειρημένων ὄργάνων καὶ αὐλῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχουσι καὶ τεχνικῶς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἂν μου θέλῃς ἀποπειραθῆναι ἐπιδείξομαί σοι ἐγὼ αὐτός, πολλῶν ἄλλων μουσικωτέρων μου ἐν ε τῇ πατρίδι ὑπαρχόντων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ πολίτης μου (οὗτος δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τετελεύτηκε) δημοσίᾳ ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τριγώνῳ ἐπικαλουμένῳ ὄργάνῳ οὕτως ἐποίησε πάντας Ῥωμαίους μουσομανεῦν ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτοῦ τὰ κρούσματα. μημονεύει δὲ τοῦ τριγώνου τούτου καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν μὲν Μυσοῖς οὕτως·

πολὺς δὲ Φρὺξ τρίγωνος ἀντίσπαστά τε
Λυδῆς ἐφυμνεῖ πηκτίδος συγχορδία,

καὶ ἐν Θαμύρᾳ. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Δαιταλεῦσι
καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν Πηνελόπῃ· Εὔπολις δ' ἐν
Βάπταις φησίν.

δις καλῶς μὲν τυμπανίζει
καὶ διαψάλλει τριγώνοις.

τοῦ δὲ καλουμένου πανδούρου Εὐφορίων μέν, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ Πρωταγορίδης ἐν β' περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ παντηγύρεων. Πυθαγόρας δὲ ὁ γεγραφώς περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας 184 φησὶ κατασκευάζειν τὴν πανδούραν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ φυομένης δάφνης. Τυρρηνῶν δ' ἐστὶν εὑρῆμα κέρατά τε καὶ σάλπιγγες. Μητρόδωρος δ'

into an upright psaltery, still preserves the name of the man who brought it into use. Epigonus was by birth an Ambraciot, but by adoption he was a citizen of Sicyon. Being very talented, he could play on the harp with the bare hand without a plectrum. I say then, that the Alexandrians are well acquainted with all these instruments before mentioned, as well as with the pipes, and they are skilled in their use ; I will myself give you an exhibition with any of the instruments with which you wish to test me, although there are many other persons in my country more musical than I. My fellow-citizen Alexander (he has lately died) gave a public recital with the instrument called the triangle, and sent all Rome into such a state of music-madness that most Romans can repeat his tunes. This 'triangle' is mentioned by Sophocles in *The Mysians*^a thus : 'Oft resounds the Phrygian triangle, and with answering strains the harmony of the Lydian pectis sings'; also in *Thamyras*. So Aristophanes in *The Men of Dinner-ville*,^b Theopompus in *Penelope*.^c Eupolis in *The Dyers*^d says : 'Who nicely beats the tambourine and sounds the strings of the triangle.' The so-called 'pandura' is mentioned by Euphorion, as has already been said,^e and by Protagorides in the second book of *The Games at Daphne*.^f Pythagoras, he who wrote on the Red Sea, says that the Troglodytes make the pandura out of the white mangrove which grows in the sea. Horns and trumpets are an invention of the Etruscans. Metrodorus of Chios,

^a T G.F.² 221, 182, cf. Athen 635 c^b Kock i. 454.^c Kock i. 746.^d Kock i. 276, where it will be seen that the quotation is much distorted.^e 182 e.^f F H.G. iv 484

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ο Χῖος ἐν Τρωικοῖς σύριγγα μέν φησιν εὔρεῖν
Μαρσύαν καὶ αὐλεῖν¹ ἐν Κελαινᾶς, τῶν πρότερον
ἐνὶ καλάμῳ συριζόντων. Εὐφορίων δ' ὁ ἐποποιὸς
ἐν τῷ περὶ μελοποιῶν τὴν μὲν μονοκάλαμον
σύριγγα 'Ἐρμῆν εὔρεῖν, τινὰς δ' ἵστορεῖν Σεύθην
καὶ 'Ρωνάκην τοὺς Μαιδούς,² τὴν δὲ πολυκάλαμον
Σιληνόν, Μαρσύαν δὲ τὴν κηρόδετον.

Ταῦτα ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων,
b Οὐλπιανὴ ὀνοματοθήρα, τῶν περὶ τοὺς μοναύλους
ἐσπουδακότων. οὐ γάρ οἰδας ἴστοροῦντα Μενεκλέα
τὸν Βαρκαῖον συγγραφέα ἔτι τε Ἀνδρωνα ἐν τοῖς
Χρονικοῖς τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέις εἰσιν
οἱ παιδεύσαντες πάντας τοὺς Ἐλληνας καὶ τοὺς
βαρβάρους, ἐκλειπούστης ἥδη τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παι-
δείας διὰ τὰς γενομένας συνεχεῖς κινήσεις ἐν τοῖς
κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχους χρόνοις. ἐγένετο
οὖν ἀνανέωσις πάλιν παιδείας ἀπάστης κατὰ τὸν
c ἔβδομον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου Πτολεμαῖον, τὸν
κυρίως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καλούμενον Κακ-
εργέτην. οὗτος γάρ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων
ἀποσφάξας, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ φυγαδεύσας τῶν
κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφιβησάντων ἐποίησε
πλήρεις τάς τε νήσους καὶ πόλεις ἀνδρῶν γραμ-
ματικῶν, φιλοσόφων, γεωμετρῶν, μουσικῶν, ζω-
γράφων, παιδοτριβῶν τε καὶ ιατρῶν καὶ ἄλλων
πολλῶν τεχνιτῶν· οἱ διὰ τὸ πένεσθαι διδάσκοντες
ἄ ηπίσταντο πολλοὺς κατεσκεύασαν ἄνδρας ἐλ-

¹ αὐλεῖν Lumb: αὐλὸν A.

² Μαιδούς Schweighauser μῆδος A

^a F.H.G. iii. 205.

^b See critical note, and Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 8

in his *Trojan History*^a says that Marsyas invented the Pan's pipe (' syrinx ') and played it in Celaenae,^b since his predecessors had piped on one reed only. And Euphorion the epic poet, in his work on *Lyric Poets*,^c says that Hermes invented the one-reeded syrinx (though some record that Seuthes and Rhonaces the Maedi were the inventors), Silenus the many-reeded syrinx, and Marsyas the one which is fastened by wax.

"This you have, O word-chaser Ulpian, from the lips of us Alexandrians who have devoted ourselves to the study of 'single-pipes' You, indeed, are not aware that Menecles, the historian of Barca,^d and again Andron of Alexandria, in his *Chronicles*,^e record that the Alexandrians were the teachers of all Greeks and barbarians at a time when the entire system of general education had broken down by reason of the continually recurring disturbances which took place in the period of Alexander's successors I say, then, a rejuvenation of all culture was again brought about in the reign of the seventh Ptolemy who ruled over Egypt, the king who received from the Alexandrians appropriately the name of Malefactor.^f For he murdered many of the Alexandrians; not a few he sent into exile, and filled the islands and towns with men who had grown up with his brother—philologists, philosophers, mathematicians, musicians, painters, athletic trainers, physicians, and many other men of skill in their profession And so they, reduced by poverty to teaching what they knew, instructed many dis-

^a Frag. 33 Müller.

^d F H.G. iv 451.

^e *Ibid* ii 352.

^f Kakergetes, opposed to Euergetes, "Benefactor"

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α λογίμους. ἔμελεν δὲ τοῖς πάλαι πᾶσιν "Ελλησι μουσικῆς· διόπερ καὶ ἡ αὐλητικὴ περισπούδαστος ἦν. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Προτρεπτικῷ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶ καὶ Θηβαίους πάντας αὐλεῖν μανθάνειν Ἡρακλεώτας τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔτι Ἀθηναίων τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, Καλλίαν τε τὸν Ἰππονίκου· καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν Καλλαίσχρου. Δοῦρις δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Εύριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους Ἀλκιβιάδην φησὶ μαθεῖν τὴν αὐλητικὴν οὐ παρὰ τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλὰ Προνόμου τοῦ μεγίστην ἐσχηκότος δόξαν. Ἀριστόξενος εἶδε καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τὸν Θηβαῖον αὐλεῖν μαθεῖν παρὰ Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ καὶ Ὁρθαγόρᾳ, καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἥσκησαν, ὡς Εὐφράνωρ τε καὶ Ἀρχύτας Φιλόλαός τε ἄλλοι τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι. ὁ δὲ Εὐφράνωρ καὶ σύγγραμμα περὶ αὐλῶν κατέλιπεν ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρχύτας. ἐμφανίζει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Δαιταλεῦσι τὴν περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο σπουδὴν ὅταν λέγῃ.

δστις¹ αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραισι κατατέτριμμαι χρώ-
μενος,
εἴτα με σκάπτειν κελεύεις;

f Φρύνιχος Ἐφιάλτη·

οὐ τουτοὶ μέντοι σὺ κιθαρίζειν ποτὲ
αὐλεῖν τ' ἐδίδαξας;

καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δέ φησιν Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις ἐπαυλῆσαι τοῖς Διοσκόροις τὸν ἐνόπλιον. "Ιων δὲ ἐν Φοίνικι ἡ Καινεῖ ἀλέκτορα τὸν αὐλὸν καλεῖ ἐν τούτοις."

¹ After δστις A has δ' αὐτὴν: deleted by Brunck and Casaubon.

tinguished men. But all Greeks of the olden time were devoted to music, wherefore even flute-playing was very popular. Chamaeleon of Heraclea, at any rate, in the *Hortatory Tract*, as it is entitled, says that all Lacedaemonians and Thebans learned to play on the pipes, as did also the Heracleots of Pontus in his time, as well as the most distinguished Athenians—Calias the son of Hipponicus and Critias the son of Callaeschrus. Duris, in his work on Euripides and Sophocles, says^a that Alcibiades learned flute-playing from no ordinary teacher, but from Pronomus, who had acquired very great repute. Aristoxenus, also, says that Epaminondas of Thebes learned to play the flute in the schools of Olympiodorus and Orthagoras. Many even of the Pythagoreans were devoted to flute-playing, as Euphranor, Archytas, Philolaus, and not a few others. In fact Euphranor has left a treatise on pipes; likewise also Archytas. And Aristophanes, in *The Men of Dinnerville*,^b makes clear the interest in this subject when he says: ‘I am one who have been worn flabby by the use of pipes and harps; and now you bid me go dig?’ Phrynicus in *The Incubus*^c: ‘Surely you never taught *this* fellow to play the harp and pipes?’ And Epicharmus says in *The Muses*^d that even Athena played the ‘enoplic’^e on the pipes for the Dioscuri. Ion, in *Phoenix* or *Caeneus*,^f calls the pipe a cock, in these words: ‘And upon that the

^a F.H.G. II. 486.^b Kock I. 448; a young man complains that after an effeminate education he should be called upon to work. Cf. Aristoph. *Aves* 1432 τι γὰρ πάθω, σκάπτειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.^c Kock I. 370.”^d Kaibel 104.^e A martial and marching tune in a special rhythm.^f T G F. 2 740.

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185 ἐπὶ δ' αὐλὸς ἀλέκτωρ Λύδιον ὅμνον ἀχέων.
 ἐν δὲ Φρουροῖς τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα Ἰδαῖον εἴρηκε
 σύριγγα διὰ τούτων·
 ρόθεῖ¹ δέ τοι σῦριγξ Ἰδαῖος ἀλέκτωρ.
 ἐν δὲ τῷ β' Φοίνικι δ' αὐτὸς Ἰων φησίν·
 ἔκτυποι² ἄγων βαρὺν αὐλὸν τρέχοντι ρυθμῷ³
 οὕτω λέγων τῷ Φρυγίῳ· βαρὺς γάρ οὗτος· παρ' ὃ
 καὶ τὸ κέρας αὐτῷ προσάπτουσιν ἀναλογοῦν τῷ
 τῶν σαλπίγγων κώδωνι·”
 Ἐπὶ τούτοις τέλος ἔχέτω καὶ ηδε ἡ βίβλος,
 ἔταιρε Τιμόκρατες, ἵκανὸν εἰληφυῖα μῆκος.

¹ ρόθεῖ Naucl. προθεῖ A.

² ἔκτυπον A: ἔκτύπουν Bentley.

³ τρέχοντι ρυθμῷ AC: τρέχοντα ρυθμόν Bentley.

pipe, a cock, crowed forth its Lydian hymn.' But in *Sentinels*^a he calls the cock an Idaean Pan's pipe, in these words : ' And the Pan's pipe, Idaean cock, surges forth ' In the second *Phoenix*^b the same Ion says : ' Playing a loud and deep-voiced pipe, with tripping metre,' meaning the Phrygian thereby ; for it is deep and grave, and hence they tie the piece of horn to it, answering to the mouthpiece^c of trumpets.'

Upon this, let the present book come to its close, friend Timocrates, since it has taken on sufficient length.

^a T.G.F. 741 ; the writer of the note should have said, " he calls the Pan's pipe an Idaean cock."

^b *ibid.* 740. See critical note.

^c lit " bell " The text is defective, and the meaning of the quotation wholly obscure.

E

’Αλλ’ ἐπεὶ πολὺς οὗτως λόγος συμποσίων πέρι διήντληται,¹ ὁ Τιμόκρατες, ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων, παρελίπομεν δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ χρησιμώτατα καὶ οὐ βαροῦντα τὴν ψυχήν, ὡφελοῦντα δὲ καὶ τρέφοντα κατὰ πανδαισίαν, ἀπέρ ὁ θεῖος Ὁμηρος παρεισῆγαγε, μνημονεύσω καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Μασουρίου ἡμεῖς γὰρ κατὰ τὸν καλὸν Ἀγάθωνα.

b τὸ μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὡς ποιούμεθα,
τὸ δ' ἔργον ὡς πάρεργον ἐκποιούμεθα.

φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ τοῦ Μενελάου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος

τὸν δ' εὑρον δαινύντα γάμον πολλοῦσιν ἔτησιν
υἱέος ἥδε θυγατρὸς ἀμύμονος ὃ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,

ὡς νενόμισται ἄγειν συμπόσια περὶ τοὺς γάμους
τῶν τε γαμηλίων θεῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς οἰονεὶ^c
μαρτυρίας. τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους συμπόσιον ὁ
τῆς Λυκίας βασιλεὺς διδάσκει οἶνον εἶναι δεῖ, τὸν
c Βελλεροφόντην μεγαλοπρεπῶς δεξάμενος.

¹ συμποσίων πέρι διήντληται Kaihel: συμποσίων προδι-
ήντληται A.

BOOK V

Now, since we, Timocrates, have exhausted in what has gone before so much talk on the subject of symposia, though we have omitted the most useful elements of them, I mean those things which do not burden the spirit, but aid and edify it as a complete banquet does—in fact, the elements which the divine Homer introduced by the way, I will now bring to mind also what was said on these matters by the most excellent Masurius. For, to adopt the words of the noble Agathon,^a “Thus do we render our avocation a vocation, but contrive to make our vocation an avocation.” Be that as it may, the poet, speaking of Menelaus, says ^b: “Him they found giving a marriage-feast to many kinsmen in his hall for his son and his blameless daughter;” since it is the established custom to hold symposia in connexion with the wedding ceremony, partly to honour the gods of marriage, and partly to serve as a kind of public witness to the union. As for the symposium which is tendered to strangers, the king of Lycia teaches what the nature of it should be when he gives munificent welcome to Bellerophon ^c: “Nine

^a T.G.F.² 766; the meaning is that we treat what is secondary as of chief importance, and *vice versa*.

^b *Od.* iv. 3. The occasion was the visit of Telemachus and Peisistratus.

^c *Il.* vi. 174.

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ἐννῆμαρ ξείνισσε καὶ ἐνέα βοῦς ἔρευσε.

Δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς φιλίαν τι ὁ οἶνος ἐλκυστικόν, παραθερμαίνων τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ διαχέων. διόπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἡρώτων οἵτινες εἴεν ἀλλ' ὑστερον, ὡς τὴν ἔνειάν αὐτὴν τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς ἐν μέρει καὶ καθ' ἔκαστον ἡμῶν. τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προνοοῦντες οἱ νομοθέται τά τε φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν, ἔτι 186 δὲ τοὺς θιάσους καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ καὶ πάλιν τὰ¹ ὄργεωνικὰ λεγόμενα. πολλῶν γοῦν εἰσὶ φιλοσόφων ἐν ἄστει σύνοδοι τῶν μὲν Διογενιστῶν, τῶν δὲ Ἀντιπατριστῶν λεγομένων, τῶν δὲ Παναιτιαστῶν. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος εἰς τὴν τοιάντην σύνοδον χρήματα, μὰ Δὲ² οὐχ ἵνα ἀκολασταίνωσι συνιόντες, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου λόγον³ σωφρόνως καὶ πεπαιδευμένως διεξάγωσι συνεδείπνουν δ' ὅσημέραι οἱ περὶ πρύτανιν³ σώφρονα καὶ σωτήρια τῶν πόλεων σύνδειπνα. πρὸς γοῦν τοιοῦτο συμπόσιον φησιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀνενημέχθαι τὴν Ἐλατέιας κατάληψιν. “ἔσπέρα b μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἥκε δὲ ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατεύληπται.” καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἦν συνάγουσι τοὺς νέους μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τινα τεταγμένον νόμον εὐωχεῖσθαι. τοῦ γοῦν

¹ τὰ added by Kaibel.

² τὰ κατὰ . . λόγον A (νόμον Wilamowitz). τοὺς κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον λόγους C.

³ περὶ πρύτανιν can scarcely be right; we expect οἱ περὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις, or οἱ ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ

^a i.e. “priestly.” A citizen, called during his office *orgeon*, was chosen from each deme to offer sacrifice at certain stated times. The *thrasos* was a company, club, or fraternity, originally organized to carry on some religious

days he received him as his guest, and nine oxen did he butcher."

For wine seems to possess a power which draws to friendship, by lightly warming and fusing the soul. Hence they did not even ask their guests too soon who they were, but postponed that until later, as though they honoured the mere act of hospitality, and not the individual and the personal in us. The old lawgivers, providing for the modern dinners, ordained both the tribe and the deme dinners, and over and above these the dinners of the sacred bands, the brotherhood dinners, and again those which are called "orgeonic."^a Anyway, there are in the city^b meetings of many philosophic sects—Diogenists, Antipatriots, so-called, and Panaetians. Theophrastus even bequeathed money for a meeting of this character, not—Heaven forbid!—that they should indulge in intemperance when they came together, but that they might carry out with decency and refinement the practices which accord with the idea of the symposium. And every day the presiding magistrates used to assemble parties for dinner which were decent and salutary for the state. At any rate, it was to a symposium of this kind, Demosthenes says,^c that report came of the capture of Elateia: "For it was evening, and someone came to the prytanes with the report that Elateia had been captured." And the philosophers also made it their business to gather young men together and dine in their company with due regard to some fixed standard.

cult. State dinners (*στρητοις*) were given in the Prytaneum in honour of foreign envoys, victorious generals or athletes, statesmen, and other men of prominence. Cf. Athen. 32 b, 149 d, 187 d, 425 a.

^a Athens.

^c *De corona* 169.

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Ξενοκράτους ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ πάλιν Ἀριστοτέλους συμποτικοί τινες ἥσαν νόμοι. τὰ δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ φιδίτια καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Κρητσὶν ἀνδρεῖα μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἱ πόλεις συνῆγον. διὸ καὶ τις οὐκ κακῶς ἔφη.

οὐ χρὴ συμποσίοιο φίλους ἀπέχεσθαι ἔταιρους
c δηρόν· ἀνάμνησις δὲ πέλει χαριεστάτη αὐτῇ.

Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος συμπόσιόν ποτε συνάγων συνέταξε τοῖς ἐρχομένοις ὡς περὶ σοφισμάτων ἐροῦσιν.—Ἀρκεσίλαον δέ φησιν εἰς συμπόσιον παρακληθέντα καὶ συγκατακλιθέντα ἐν τῷ βορᾶς ἐσθιόντων, αὐτὸν δὲ μηδενὸς ἀπολαῦσαι δυνάμενον, ἐπεὶ τις αὐτῷ τῷ παρόντῳ ἔξέτεινεν,
φάναι.

εὖ σοι γένοιτο, Τηλέφῳ δὲ ἄγῳ νοῶ.

ἔτυχε δὲ κατοφοφαγῶν Τήλεφος καλούμενος.—
d δὲ Ζήνων ἐπεὶ τις τῷ παρόντῳ ὀψοφάγων ἀπέσυρεν ἀμα τῷ παρατεθῆναι τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἵχθυος, στρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵχθυν ἀπέσυρεν ἐπιλέγων.

Ίνῳ δὲ τάπι θάτερ^a ἔξειργάζετο

Σωκράτης δὲ ἵδων τινα ἀμέτρως τῇ ἐποψήσει χρώμενον “ὦ παρόντες, ἔφη, τίς ὑμῶν τῷ μὲν ἄρτῳ ὡς ὅψῳ χρῆται, τῷ δὲ ὅψῳ ὡς ἄρτῳ,”

^a Probably the correct reading in 3 f.

^b P.L.G.⁴ II. 73.

^c Athenaeus. A remark of the excerptor.

^d Reminiscence of Aristoph. Ach. ^e 446 εὐδαιμονοῖς, Τηλέφῳ δὲ ἄγῳ φρονῷ, which in turn parodies a line of Euripides' *Telephus*, καλῶς ἔχει μοι Τηλέφῳ δὲ ἄγῳ φρονῷ,

At any rate, there were *Symposium Laws*^a by Xenocrates of the Academy, and again by Aristotle. The messes at Sparta, and the men's halls among the Cretans, are conducted by the States with all possible care. Wherefore someone has said,^b not badly : “ Friendly comrades should not abstain too long from the symposium ; for that is the most delightful way to remember each other ” The philosopher Antipater once held a symposium at which he required all who came to discuss some disputed question of the sophists.—He^c says that Arcesilaus was invited to a symposium, and having been assigned to a couch with a person who ate voraciously, he was unable to enjoy anything himself ; and when one of the company handed food across to him, he said, “ Thanks to *you*, sir ; but to *Telephus*—what I have in mind ! ”^d It so happened that the man who ate so greedily was named Telephus. —And Zeno, when one of the gourmands in his company snatched away the upper part of the fish at the very moment when it was set before them, with a sudden twist snatched it away again himself, while he accompanied the action with the quotation^e: “ But Ino, for her part, finished the work on the other side.” And Socrates, seeing a man helping himself immoderately to the relish,^f said, “ Fellow-guests, who is it among you that treats bread like a relish, but a relish like bread ? ”

“ all's well with *me* ; but may *Telephus* get—what I have in mind,” T.G.F.² 584, Kock 1. 608.

^a Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1129. This story is told of Bion, 344 a.

^b ἐπόψησις was a relish that could be spread on bread. For the point cf. “ champagne flowed like water, and water flowed like champagne.”

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‘Ημεῖς δὲ νῦν περὶ τῶν ‘Ομηρικῶν συμποσίων λέξομεν. ἀφορίζει γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ ποιητὴς χρόνους, εἰ πρόσωπα, αἰτίας. τοῦτο δὲ ὀρθῶς ἀπεμάξατο ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Πλάτων, οἱ κατ’ ἀρχὰς τῶν ἔυγγραμμάτων ἐκτίθενται τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ συμποσίου καὶ τίνες οἱ παρόντες. Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐ τόπον, οὐ χρόνον ἀφορίζει, οὐ προλέγει οὐδέν. δεῖ οὖν μαντεύσασθαι πῶς ποτ’ ἄνθρωπος ἔξαπίνης ἔχων κύλικα προβάλλει ζητήματα καθάπερ ἐν διατριβῇ λέγων. (‘Αριστοτέλης δὲ ἀλούτον καὶ κονιορτοῦ ηκειν πλήρη τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον φησιν. . . .)¹ ἔπειθ’ ὁ μὲν ‘Ομηρος ἐκδιδάσκει τίνας κλητέον, εἰπὼν ὡς τοὺς ἀρίστους τε καὶ ἐντίμους χρῆ καλεῖν.

κίκλησκεν δὲ γέροντας ἀριστῆς Παναχαιῶν. οὐχ ὅν τρόπον ‘Ησίοδος· οὗτος γὰρ ἀξιοῖ καὶ τοὺς γείτονας·

μάλιστα καλεῖν ὅστις σέθεν ἐγγύθι ναίει.

τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς Βοιωτικῆς² ἐστιν ἀναισθησίας συμπόσιον καὶ τῇ μισανθρωποτάτῃ τῶν παροιμιῶν ἀρμόττον.

187 τηλοῦ φίλοι ναίοντες οὐκ εἰσιν φίλοι.

πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄλογον τόπῳ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ οὐ τρόπῳ κρίνεσθαι; τοιγαροῦν παρ’ ‘Ομήρῳ μετὰ τὸ πιεῖν

τοῖς δ’ ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἥρχετο μῆτιν,

¹ ‘Αριστοτέλης . . . φησιν is an uncompleted excerpt which recurs complete at 178 f. Supply ἀπρεπὲς εἶναι.

² Βοιωτικῆς Jacobs: βρωτικῆς A.

“A word by which the Greek often approaches most closely the modern notion of “impolite.” See critical note.

We will now talk about the Homeric symposia. In these, namely, the poet distinguishes times, persons, and occasions. This feature Xenophon and Plato rightly copied, for at the beginning of their treatises they explain the occasion of the symposium, and who are present. But Epicurus specifies no place, no time; he has no introduction whatever. One has to guess, therefore, how it comes about that a man with cup in hand suddenly propounds questions as though he were discoursing before a class. (Aristotle says that it is unseemly^a to arrive at a symposium unbathed and covered with dust.) Then, too, Homer clearly teaches who are to be invited, showing that it is our duty to bid the best men and those who are held in esteem, when he says^b. "And he summoned the old men, the noble lords of all the Achaeans." This is not the way which Hesiod prescribes; for he requires that we invite our neighbours too: "Above all summon him who dwells nigh thee."^c But really this is the kind of symposium appropriate to Boeotian insensibility,^d and chimes well with that most man-hating of the proverbs, "Friends who dwell afar are not friends."^e For must it not be absurd that friendship should be determined by position and not by disposition?^f Well, as I was saying, in Homer,^g after the drinking "For them the old man, the very first of all, began to weave his counsel;" whereas

^b *Il.* ii. 404; of Agamemnon.^c *Op.* 341.^d The Boeotians were accused of boorish dullness and stupidity by their Athenian neighbours.^e *T.G.F.*^b 858.^f Cf. Aeschines, *Contra Ctes.* 78 οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μετήλλαξεν.^g *Il.* vii. 324.

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παρὰ δὲ τοῖς οὐ τὰ σώφρονα συμπόσια συνάγουσι.

τοῖς δ’ ὁ κόλαξ πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἥρχετο μῶκον.

ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὅμηρος ἡλικίαις εἰσάγει διαφέροντας
 b καὶ ταῖς προαιρέσεσι τοὺς κεκλημένους, Νέστορα
 καὶ Αἴαντα καὶ Ὀδυσσέα, τὸ μὲν καθόλου σύμ-
 παντας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντεχομένους, εἴδει δὲ διαφόροις
 δόδοις ὠρμηκότας ἐπ’ αὐτήν. ὁ δ’ Ἐπίκουρος
 ἀπαντας εἰσήγαγε προφήτας ἀτόμων καὶ ταῦτ’
 ἔχων παραδείγματα τήν τε τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν
 συμποσίων ποικιλίαν καὶ τὴν Πλάτωνός τε καὶ
 Ξενοφῶντος χάριν. ὃν δὲ μὲν Πλάτων τὸν μὲν
 Ἐρυξίμαχον ιατρόν, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνη ποιητήν,
 177 ἄλλον δ’ ἀπ’ ἄλλης προαιρέσεως σπουδάζοντας¹
 εἰσήγαγεν, Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ τινας ἴδιωτας συναν-
 b ἐμίξε. πολλῷ τοίνυν κάλλιον Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε
 καὶ διάφορα παρατιθέμενος συμπόσια· πᾶν² γὰρ
 ἔξ ἀντιπαραβολῆς ὁρᾶται μᾶλλον. ἐστὶν γὰρ
 αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν τῶν μητρήρων οἶνον ἀν γένοιτο
 νεανίσκων μέθαις καὶ ἔρωσιν ἀνακειμένων, τὸ
 δὲ τῶν Φαιάκων εὐσταθέστερον μὲν τούτων,
 φιλήδονον δέ. τούτοις δ’ ἀντέθηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ³
 στρατιᾶς, τὰ δὲ πολιτικώτερον τελούμενα σω-
 φρόνως. καὶ πάλιν αὖ διεῖλεν τὰ μὲν δημοθοινίαν
 ἔχοντα, τὰ δ’ οἰκείων σύνοδον. Ἐπίκουρος δὲ

¹ For the transposition of the text (177 a-182 c) see Book iv. 177 a, and note (p. 304).

² πᾶν Porson: πάλιν A.

³ Wrongly ascribed to the parodist Matron by Meineke; see Brandt, p. 96.

among those who do not conduct symposia discreetly, “ For them the flatterer, the very first of all, began to weave his mockery.”^a And further, Homer introduces guests who differ in their ages and views of life—Nestor, Ajax, Odysseus—all of whom, speaking generally, strive after excellence, but have set out in specifically diverse paths to find it. Epicurus, on the other hand, introduced none but prophets of atoms,^b although he had before him these as his models, I mean, the variety of symposia in the Poet, and the charm of Plato and Xenophon as well. Of the last two Plato introduced as disputants the physician Eryximachus, then the poet Aristophanes, then one after another, who followed different professions in life ; Xenophon, for his part, also interspersed some who followed no profession Homer, therefore, has done much better^c in that he sets before us different symposia ; for every symposium can be better understood by comparison and contrast with others. For example, in the case of the suitors we find in him the kind of symposium which would take place when lusty young men are given over to carousals and love affairs ; while in the case of the Phaeacians, we have something more sedate than that of these young men, and yet full of delight To this again, he has placed in contrast the symposia which belong to army life, over against those which were conducted more after the manner of civil life, in a sober way. Still again, by contrast, he has distinguished those which have the character of a public feast, from those which represent a gathering of intimate friends. But Epicurus has portrayed

^b i.e. all were adherents of the materialistic system of Democritus. ^c Than Plato, Xenophon, and Epicurus.

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συμπόσιον φιλοσόφων μόνον πεποίηται. ἐδίδαξεν
c δ' Ὅμηρος καὶ οὖς οὐ δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτους
ἰέναι, πρεπόντως ἔξ ἐνὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεικνὺς
τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων παρουσίαν.

αὐτόματος δέ οἱ ἥλθε βοήν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.
δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὕτε ἀδελφὸν οὕτε γονέας οὕτε
γυναῖκα κλητέον οὔτ' εἴ τις ἵστοιμας τινὰς τούτοις
ἀγει· καὶ γὰρ ἄν ψυχρὸν εἴη καὶ ἄφιλον. καίτοι
τινὲς στίχον προσέγραψαν τὴν αἰτίαν προστιθέντες·

ἥδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῦτο,
ῶσπερ δέον εἰπεῖν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἀδελφὸς αὐτόματος
d ἄν ἦκοι πρὸς δεῖπνον, πιθανῆς τῆς αἰτίας ἀпо-
διδομένης. πότερον γάρ φησιν ὡς οὐκ ἥδει τὸν
ἀδελφὸν ἔστιωντα; καὶ πῶς οὐ γελοῖον, ὅπότε
περιφανῆς ἣν ἡ βουθυσία καὶ πᾶσι γνώριμος;
πῶς δ' ἄν ἥλθεν, εἰ μὴ ἥδει; ἡ νῆ Δία περι-
σπώμενον, φησίν, αὐτὸν εἰδὼς συνεγνωμόνει τῷ
μὴ κεκληκέναι καὶ¹ συμπεριφερόμενος ἥλθεν αὐτό-
ματος; ὕσπερ δὲ φήσας ἄκλητον ἥκειν, ἵνα μὴ
πρωίας ὑποβλέπωσιν ἀλλήλους, δὲ μὲν αἰδούμενος,
δὲ μεμφόμενος. ἀλλὰ γελοῖον ἣν ἐπιλαθέσθαι
e τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα δι'

¹ καὶ added by Schweighauser.

^a *Il.* ii. 408.

^b His brother Agamemnon; but the presence of women, even when closely related, might not be taken for granted in classical times, except at the family feasts celebrating a birth or marriage, or held in commemoration of the dead. The comment clearly points to an Alexandrian origin, as we should expect.

^c This famous epithet, *βοήν ἀγαθός*, was much debated in antiquity. Cf. Schol. *Il.* ii. 408, Schol. *Il.* xvii. 714. By "cry" is meant the shout for help, the call to battle, hence "good at the cry" is = "good when the call comes."

solely a symposium of philosophers. Homer has also taught us who need not be invited, but may come of their own accord, by the example of one relative fittingly pointing out the presence of others similarly connected^a: "Of his own accord came to him^b Menelaus, good at the cry.^c" For it is plain that neither a brother, nor parents, nor wife need be invited, nor anyone else whom one holds in equal esteem with these; otherwise it would be cold and unfriendly. And yet some authorities have added a verse which further explains the reason:^d "For he knew in his heart that his brother was troubled"—as though it were necessary to tell the reason why a brother might come to dinner of his own accord, when the reason which we now give is the probable one. Can he,^e for example, assert that Menelaus did not know that his brother was giving a feast? Would that not be ridiculous, when the slaughtering of the oxen was in plain sight, and known to all? Why then would he have come if he had not known that? Or does he mean—of all things under Heaven!—that Menelaus, knowing that his brother was distracted, excused the omission of the invitation, and, adapting himself to the circumstances, came of his own accord? That would be as if he meant that he had come, though uninvited, in order that they might not look at each other the next morning with suspicion, the one with shame, the other with reproach! On the contrary, it would have been absurd that Agamemnon should forget his brother, especially when it was for his sake that

^a Why Menelaus came; *Il.* ii. 409, adopted by all editors despite our critic.

^b Whoever added the verse.

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ἐκεῖνον οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ παρὸν θύοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναδεδεγμένον, καὶ κεκληκότα τοὺς μῆτε γένει προσήκοντας μῆτε πατρίδι προσωκειωμένους. Ἀθηνοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς μᾶλλον Ἀριστάρχου κατακούων τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν ἐπῶν εὐπαιδευτότερον ἡμῖν φησι τοῦτον Ὁμηρον καταλιπεῖν, ὅσῳ¹ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ Μενέλεως οἰκειοτέρως εἶχεν² Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐπαρίστερον τὴν τοῦ στίχου παράληψιν ἐπειπὼν καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως ἢ ἀλλότριον,³ τὸν

ἥδεε γάρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονέîτο μικρολογίαν ἐμβάλλειν⁴ τοῖς ἥθεσιν. “οἷμαι γάρ, φησίν, ἔκαστον τῶν χαριέντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν 178 καὶ οἰκεῖον καὶ φίλον πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἔλθοι θυσίας οὕσης τὸν καλοῦντα μὴ περιμείνας.” Πλάτων δὲ ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγει οὕτως· “ἴνα καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν (φησί) διαφθείρωμεν μεταβάλλοντες, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαῦτας ἵασιν αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί. Ὁμηρος μὲν γάρ κινδυνεύει οὐ μόνον διαφθεῖραι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑβρίσαι εἰς αὐτήν· ποιήσας γάρ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολεμικά, τὸν Μενέλαον δὲ μαλθακὸν αἰχμητήν, θυσίαν ποιουμένου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἄκλητον b ἐποίησεν ἐλθόντα τὸν χείρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀμείνονος δίαιταν.” Βακχυλίδης δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους⁵ λέγων ὡς ἥλθεν ἐπὶ⁶ τὸν τοῦ Κήυκος οἰκόν φησιν.

¹ δσφ Kaibel : ὡς A.

² εἰχεν Casaubon · ἔχειν A.

³ ἀλλότριον A : ἀλλοτρίαν Kaibel, ἀλλότριον is a solecism, but is almost certainly what Athenaeus wrote

⁴ ἐμβάλλειν Kaibel . ἐμβάλλει AC

⁵ Ἡρακλέους Schweighauser : Κήυκος A

⁶ ἐπὶ Schweighauser : περὶ A (cf. 201 c).

he was at the moment offering sacrifice, and had assumed the conduct of the war as well, and moreover had invited those who were not related to him by birth nor associated with his country. Athenocles of Cyzicus, with a better understanding of the Homeric poetry than Aristarchus, explains to us with greater refinement that Homer passed Menelaus over without mention because he was more closely related in kinship to Agamemnon. And Demetrius of Phalerum declared that the inclusion of the verse, "for he knew in his heart that his brother was troubled," is awkward and foreign to the poet's style, and imputes meanness to the characters. "For," says he, "I think that every man of refinement has someone, either relative or friend, to whom he can go when a feast is on without waiting for an invitation." And Plato, in *The Symposium*,^a has this to say on the same subject: "That we," he says, "may, by an alteration, render null and void the proverb to the effect that 'good men go of their own accord to the feasts of good men' For Homer, indeed, may not only have rendered it null and void, but actually outraged it; for he represented Agamemnon as brave in matters of war, but Menelaus as a slack warrior; yet, when Agamemnon was holding a sacrificial feast, he represented the inferior man as going uninvited to the dinner of the better man." Bacchylides,^b telling of how Heracles went to the house of Ceÿx, says. "He halted at the

^a 174 b; the proverb (see below, b) in question ran, "brave men go of their own accord (*i.e.* without waiting for an invitation) to the feast of cowards." Of course Homer has no proverb in mind in the passage discussed.

^b *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 33.

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ἔστα¹ δ' ἐπὶ λάινον οὐδόν, τοὶ δὲ θοίνας ἔντυον,²
ῳδέ τ' ἔφα³.
αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθῶν δαῖτας εὐόχθους ἐπέρ-
χονται δίκαιοι
φῶτες.

αἱ δὲ παροιμίαι ἡ μέν φησιν·

αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἵασιν,
ἡ δέ·

αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἵασιν.

οὐ δεόντως γοῦν Πλάτων τὸν Μενέλεων ἐνόμισεν
εἶναι δειλόν, ὃν ἀρηίφιλον "Ομηρος λέγει καὶ μόνον
ὑπὲρ Πατρόκλου ἀριστεύσαντα καὶ τῷ "Εκτορὶ πρὸ⁴
πάντων πρόθυμον μονομαχεῖν, καίπερ ὅντα τῇ
ρώμῃ καταδεέστερον, ἐφ' οὗ μόνου τῶν στρατευσα-
μένων εἴρηκεν.

ἐν δ' αὐτὸς κίεν ἦσι προθυμίησι πεποιθώσ
εὶ δὲ ὁ ἔχθρὸς ὁ βλασφημῶν⁴ αὐτὸν εἴρηκε μαλ-
θακὸν αἰχμητὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πλάτων τῷ ὅντι
μαλθακὸν αὐτὸν ὑπολαμβάνει, οὐκ ἀν φθάνοι
καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τιθεὶς ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις, ὃν
αὐτός φησιν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, εἴπερ εἰς αὐτὸν εἴρηται
d τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος·

οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὅμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλά-
φοιο.

οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι λέγεται παρ' "Ομήρω, τοῦθ' "Ομηρος
λέγει. πῶς γὰρ ἀν εἴη μαλθακὸς Μενέλαος ὁ τὸν
"Εκτορα μόνος ἀπείρξας τοῦ Πατρόκλου καὶ
Εῦφορβον ἀποκτείνας τε καὶ σκυλεύσας ἐν μέσοις

¹ ἔστα Neue: ἔστη A.

² ἔντυον Neue: ἔντυνον A

stone threshold, and they were making ready a feast, and thus spake he : ‘ Of their own accord just men approach the feasts, heaped high, of good men.’ ” Now of the proverbs, one says, “ Of their own accord brave men go to the feasts of brave men,” the other, “ Of their own accord brave men go to the feasts of cowards.” But it is without warrant, at any rate, that Plato thought Menelaus a coward, since Homer calls him “ dear to Ares,” and says that he was the only one who performed feats of valour in behalf of Patroclus,^a and above all others was eager to fight in single combat against Hector,^b although he was inferior to him in physical strength. And of all who were in the army he was the only one of whom the poet said ^c: “ And among them he himself moved, confident in his zeal.” Now if his enemy, who reviled him, called him a “ slack warrior,”^d and Plato on that account assumes that he was really slack, he could not be too quick in ranking Agamemnon also among the poltroons (although Plato himself says that he was brave), seeing that this verse is said of Agamemnon ^e. “ Heavy with wine, with the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer.” The truth is that if a thing is said in Homer, it is not always Homer who says it. How, in fact, could Menelaus be a coward—he the only one to keep Hector away from the body of Patroclus, killing Euphorbus and spoiling him of his arms in the very midst of the

^a *Il.* xvii. 1.^b *Il.* vii. 94^c *Il.* ii. 588.^d *Il.* xvii. 588; the speaker is Hector.^e *Il.* i. 225, Achilles speaks³ ἔφα Neue · ἔφαστ’ A⁴ ὁ εχθρὸς ὁ βλασφημῶν A ὁ αἰσχρὸς βλασφημῶν C; cf. schol. *Il.* xvii. 588

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ε τοῖς Τρωσί; τὸ δὲ μηδὲ τὸν στίχον ὃν ἥτιάτο τελείως κατανοῆσαι ἀτοπον, δι’ οὐ βοὴν ἄγαθὸς Μενέλαος λέγεται. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδρειοτάτοις Ὅμηρος εἴωθεν ἐπιφωνεῖν, καλούντων τῶν παλαιῶν τὸν πόλεμον βοήν.

Πάντα δ’ ὧν ἀκριβῆς Ὅμηρος καὶ τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο οὐ παρέλιπε τὸ δεῖν θεραπεύσαντα τὸ σωμάτιον καὶ λουσάμενον ἵέναι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Ὁδυσσέως εἶπε πρὸ τῆς παρὰ Φαίαξι θοίνης·

αὐτόδιον δ’ ἄρα μιν ταμίη λούσασθαι ἄνωγεν.

ἴ επὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Τηλέμαχον·

ἔς ρο ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐνξέστας λούσαντο.

“ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ ἦν, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἥκειν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σὺν ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ καὶ κονιορτῷ.” δεῖ γὰρ τὸν χαρίεντα μήτε ῥυπᾶν μήτε αὐχμεῖν μήτε βορβόρῳ χαίρειν καθ’ Ἡράκλειτον. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον μὴ γαστρισθένειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ συμ-
179 πόσιον χωρεῖν, ἀλλά τι δοῦναι πρότερον τῷ φιλο-θεάμονι καὶ κατανοῆσαι τὴν οἰκίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο παρέλιπεν ὁ ποιητής·

αὐτοὶ δ’ εἰσῆλθον θεῖον δόμον οἱ δὲ ἴδοντες θαύμαζον κατὰ δῶμα διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος. ὅστε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἡὲ σελήνης δῶμα καθ’ ὑψερεφὲς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Σφηξὶ ποιεῖ τὸν ἄγριον γέ-

Trojans? That Plato has not even given thorough attention to the verse which he reprehended is a curious fact; in it Menelaus is called "good at the cry." For Homer habitually uses this epithet of the bravest, since the ancients called the battle a "cry."^a

Being exact in all matters, Homer has not omitted this small detail—the necessity of caring for the body and bathing before going to dinner. In the case of Odysseus, at any rate, he says, just before the feast among the Phaeacians^b: "Straightway the housekeeper bade him bathe." And of the men in the retinue of Telemachus^c: "Then went they to the well-polished tubs and bathed." "For it was unseemly," says Aristotle, "to arrive at the symposium covered with sweat and dust."^d For the man of refinement must not be slovenly, or dirty, or have pleasure in filth, according to Heraclitus.^e Also, the one who arrives first at another's house for dinner must not rush forthwith to the symposium to fill his belly, but he should previously accord something to the aesthetic sense, and take notice of the host's house. In fact, Homer^f has not omitted this point either. "They themselves went into the wondrous house; and they, having gazed upon it, admired exceedingly the hall of the king fostered by Zeus, for it was as the shining of the sun or the moon in the high-roofed hall of glorious Menelaus." And Aristophanes, in the *Wasps*,^g shows the harsh and

^a Cf. 177 c, note e, and schol. Il. xvii. 714 βοήν λέγει (sc. Homer) τὴν μάχην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλαλαγμοῦ. ^b Od. viii. 449.

^c Od. iv. 48. ^d See 186 e, note. ^e Frag. 54 Bywater.

^f Od. iv. 43 αὐτοὺς δ' εἰσῆγον (sc. θεράποντες) θεῖον δόμον, "the servants led them into the wondrous house."

^g 1208-9; the son speaks.

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ροντα καὶ φιλοδικαστὴν καταρρυθμιζόμενον εἰς
ἢ βίον ἡμερον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδός·

παῦ· ἀλλὰ δευρὶ κατακλινεὶς προσμάνθανε
ξυμποτικὸς ἐναι καὶ ξυνουσιαστικός.

διδάξας τε αὐτὸν ὡς δεῖ κατακλίνεσθαι φησιν·

ἔπειτ' ἔπαινεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων,
όροφὴν θέασαι, κρεκάδι² αὐλῆς θαύμασον

Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ θοιωᾶσθαι δὲ ἂ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἥμᾶς
διδάσκει πάλιν "Ομηρος, ἀπαρχὰς τῶν βρωμάτων
νέμειν τοὺς θεοὺς. οἱ γοῦν περὶ τὸν Ὁδυσσέα
εἰπάπερ ὅντες ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπηλαίῳ.

ἔνθα δὲ πῦρ κείαντες ἐθύσαμεν ἥδε καὶ αὐτοὶ
τυρῶν αἰνύμενοι φάγομεν.

καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς καίπερ ἔπειγομένων τῶν πρέσβεων
ώς ἐν μέσαις νυξὶν ἥκόντων ὅμως

θεοῖσι δὲ θῦσαι ἀνώγει
Πάτροκλον δν ἔταιρον· ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε
θυηλάς.

καὶ σπονδοποιεῖται γε τοὺς δαιτυμόνας·

d κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἔπεστέφαντο ποτοῖο,
νώμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἔπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπεῖσάν τ'.

ἄπερ καὶ Πλάτων φυλάσσει κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον.
μετὰ γάρ τὸ δειπνῆσαι σπονδάς τέ φησιν ποιῆσαι
καὶ τὸν θεὸν παιωνίσαντας τοῖς νομιζόμενοις γέρασι.
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν. παρὰ δ' Ἐπικούρῳ

litigious old man in process of being converted to a gentle mode of life by his son : " Cease ! But come now, this way ; lay yourself down and learn also how to be a man of conviviality and sociability." And after instructing him how he is to recline he says^a : " Now, speak approvingly of one of the vessels, gaze at the ceiling, admire the tapestries in the court."

Again, Homer tells us what we are to do before we begin to eat, namely, we are to offer as first-fruits some of the food to the gods. At any rate, the men in the company of Odysseus, even when they were in the Cyclops's cave^b : " Therefore " (they say) " we lighted a fire and offered sacrifice, and then we ourselves took and ate of the cheeses." And Achilles, although the envoys had come in haste in the mid-watches of the night, none the less^c bade Patroclus, his companion, to offer sacrifice to the gods ; and he laid first-offerings on the fire." Homer also shows us the feasters at least offering libations^d : " Young men filled the mixing-bowls to the brim with wine, and then measured it out to all, after they had poured the drink-offering into the cups. Then, when they had made libation. . . ." All of which Plato also retains in his symposium. For after the eating was over, he says^e that they offered libation and thanksgiving to the god with the customary honours. Similarly also Xenophon. But

^a 1214.

^b *Od. ix. 231.*

^c *Il. ix. 219.*

^d *Il. iv. 175* ; the lines conclude, " when they had made libation and drunk to their heart's content they departed " ; 180 b. *Cf. Athen. 13 e.*

^e *Symp. 176 a* ;^f the point of the unfinished quotation is that homage to the gods always preceded the drinking-bout.

ATHENAEUS

οὐ σπουδή, οὐκ ἀπαρχὴ θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σιμωνίδης ἔφη περὶ τῆς ἀκόσμου γυναικός,
ἀθυστα δ' ἵρα πολλάκις κατεσθίει . . .

e Τὴν γὰρ σύμμετρον κρᾶσιν τοῦ οἴνου ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτύονος βασιλεύσαντος διδαχθῆναι φασιν Ἀθηναίους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱερὸν Διονύσου ὁρθοῦ ἴδρυσασθαι. τότε γὰρ ὁρθός ἐστι τῷ ὅντι καὶ οὐ σφαλερός, ὅταν συμμέτρως καὶ κεκραμένως πίνηται.

οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει
ἡλεός, ὃς τ' ἔφεγκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ' ἀεῖσαι
καὶ θ' ἀπαλὸν γελάσαι καὶ τ' ὁρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκεν
f καὶ τι¹ ἔπος προέηκεν ὅπερ τ' ἄρρητον ἀμεινον.

τὸν γὰρ οἶνον Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἡλεὸν ὥσπερ ἡλίθιον
καλεῖ καὶ ματαιοποιόν, οὐδὲ κελεύει σκυθρωπὸν
εἶναι μήτε ἄδοντα μήτε γελῶντα μήτ' ἐρρύθμιως
ποτὲ καὶ πρὸς ὁρχησιν τρεπόμενον. οὐχ οὔτως
ἄγροῦκος οὐδὲ ἐπαρίστερός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἥδει τούτων
ἔκαστου καὶ ποσότητος καὶ ποιότητος διαφοράν.
ὅθεν οὐκ εἰπεν ὡς ἄρα τὸν πολύφρονα δοῖ οἶνος ποιεῖ
180 ἀσαι, ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἀεῖσαι, τουτέστιν ἀμέτρως καὶ
* ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὥστε προσοχλεῦν· οὐδέ τι γελάσαι μὰ
Διὸν οὐδὲ ὁρχήσασθαι· κοινὸν δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων
λαβὼν τὸ ἀπαλὸν τὴν ἄνανδρον εἰς τοῦτο πρόπτωσιν ἐπιστομίζει.

καὶ θ' ἀπαλὸν γελάσαι καὶ τ' ὁρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκεν.

παρὰ δὲ τῷ Πλάτωνι τούτων οὐδὲν ἔμμετρον, ἀλλὰ πίνουσι μὲν τοσοῦτον ὥστε μηδὲ ποῖσις ἰδίοις ποσὶν

¹ καὶ τι Homer. καὶ τε Α

with Epicurus there is no libation, no preliminary offering to the gods ; on the contrary, it is like what Simonides^a says of the lawless woman : "Ofttimes she eats up the offerings before they are consecrated."

As to the proper mixing of wine, they say^b indeed that the Athenians were taught this by their king Amphictyon, and for that reason they founded a shrine to "upright" Dionysus. For the god of wine is really upright and does not totter when he^c is drunk in just proportions and diluted. "For wine is silly in its commands ; it impels even the very prudent to sing much, and rouses him even to laugh effeminately and to dance, and inspires a word which were better unspoken."^d Homer indeed does not call wine "silly" in the sense of foolish and causing foolish actions ; he does not even bid us be of gloomy countenance, refusing to sing or laugh, or on occasion even indulging in proper measure in the dance. No, Homer is not so boorish or stiff ; on the contrary, he understood the nice differences of quantity and quality in all of these actions. Hence he did not say that wine makes the very prudent "sing," but he says that it makes him "sing much," that is, immoderately and so excessively as to be a nuisance besides ; nor does he say, I am sure, that it makes men laugh and dance ; but taking the word "effeminately" as belonging with both verbs, he tries to curb the unmanly propensity in that direction : "And rouses him even to laugh and to dance effeminately." But with Plato none of these amusements is kept within bounds ; on the contrary, they drink so much

^a Semonides of Amorgos, *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 7. 56.

^b Philochorus. See *Athen.* 38 c.

^c The wine and the god are one.

^d *Od.* xiv. 463.

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ἴστασθαι. ὅρα¹ γάρ τὸν ἐπίκωμον Ἀλκιβιάδην ὡς ἀσχημονεῖ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τὸν ὀκτακότυλον ψυκτῆρα
ἢ πίνουσι, προφάσεως λαβόμενοι ἐπείπερ αὐτοὺς
προεύλκυσεν Ἀλκιβιάδης, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ παρ'
Ομήρω.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπεῦσάν τ' ἔπιόν θ' ὅσον ἥθελε θυμός.
τούτων οὖν ἂ μὲν καθάπαξ περιγραπτέον, οἷς δὲ
συμμέτρως χρηστέον ὥσπερ ἀναθήμασί τισι μικρὸν
προσαποβλέψαντας, καθάπερ Ὁμηρος εἴρηκεν

μολπή τ' ὁρχηστύς τε· τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα
δαιτός.

Τὸ δὲ ὅλον τὸ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα νενευκὸς τοῖς
μηνηστήρσι καὶ τοῖς Φαίαξιν ἔνειμεν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ^c Νέστορι οὐδὲ Μενελάῳ· οὗ ἐν τῇ γαμοποιίᾳ μὴ
συνέντες οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον ὅτι συνεχοῦσι οὕστης
τῆς ἑστιάσεως καὶ τῶν ἀκμαίων ἡμερῶν παρ-
εληλυθυιῶν, ἐν αἷς παρεύληπτο μὲν ἡ² γαμουμένη
πρὸς τοῦ νυμφίου, πέρας δὲ εἶχεν ὁ τοῦ Μεγα-
πένθους γάμος, αὐτοὶ δὲ μονάζοντες διητῶντο ὃ
τε Μενέλαος καὶ ἡ Ἐλένη, μὴ συνέντες, ἀλλ' ἔξ-
απατηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἔπους.

τὸν δὲ εὑρον δαινύντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν,
προσσυνῆψαν τοιούτους τινὰς στίχους·

d ὡς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο καθ' ὑψερεφὲς μέγα δῶμα
γείτονες ἡδὲ ἔται Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο
τερπόμενοι· μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς
φορμίζων· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἔξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους,

¹ δρα Musurus ὄραι A.

² μὲν ἡ Musurus . μὲν οὐ A.

that they cannot stand on their own feet. For just look at Alcibiades, who comes rioting in, and observe how disgracefully he behaves; all the others also drain the two-quart cooler,^a once they had got the excuse that Alcibiades had dragged them into it. They behaved not as Homer's heroes. "But when they had made libation and drunk to their heart's content." We must then draw the line at some of these practices once for all; in others, however, we may indulge moderately, turning our regard upon them in only slight degree, and as it were treating them as a kind of ornament, as Homer says^b: "The song and the dance; for they are the ornaments of the feast."

In general, everything which verges on scenes such as these Homer has ascribed to the suitors or to the Phaeacians, but never to Nestor or Menelaus. The school of Aristarchus, not understanding this in the case of the wedding-feast,^c and not observing that the entertainment was continuous, the principal days—those on which the bride had been taken home by the groom—having already passed; nor observing that the wedding of Megapenthes was already over, and that Menelaus and Helen were eating quite alone; not understanding this, I say, but being misled by the first verse,^d "Him they found giving a marriage feast to many of his kinsmen," they have added the following verses^e: "Thus did they feast in the large high-roofed hall, neighbours and kinsmen of glorious Menelaus, making merry; and among them the divine minstrel sang as he played the lyre, and two tumblers, leaders of the dance, whirled about by themselves in the

^a *Symp.* 214 A.

^d *Od.* iv. 3.

^b *Od.* i. 152.

^c *Od.* iv. 3 ff.

^e *Od.* iv. 15.

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μετενεγκόντες ἐκ τῆς Ὀπλοποιίας σὺν αὐτῷ γε τῷ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἀμαρτήματι. οὐ γὰρ ἔξαρχοντες οἱ κυβιστητῆρες, ἀλλ’ ἔξαρχοντος τοῦ ὥδοῦ πάντως ὡρχοῦντο. τὸ γὰρ ἔξαρχειν τῆς φόρμης ἕδιον. ε διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἡσίοδος φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδῃ.

θεαὶ δ’ ἔξηρχον ἀοιδῆς

Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες,

καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος·

αὐτὸς ἔξαρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήσα.

καλεῖ δὲ Στησίχορος μὲν τὴν Μοῦσαν ἀρχεσίμολπον, Πίνδαρος δ’ ἀγησίχορα¹ τὰ προοίμια· Διόδωρος δ’ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος δλον τὸν γάμον περιέγραψε τοπάζων πρώτας ἡμέρας εἶναι, καὶ τὸ λῆγον αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔωλον τῆς συμποσίας οὐκ ἐπιλογιζόμενος. ἔπειτα κελεύει γράφειν “δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε καθ’ αὐτοὺς” ἐν τῷ δασεῖ γράμματι, σολοικίζειν ἀναγκάζων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατ’ αὐτοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς ἔστιν αὐτούς, τὸ δὲ λέγειν ἔαυτοὺς σόλοικον

‘Αλλ’ ὅπερ εἶπον, ἡ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων εἰς τὸ σωφρον τοῦτο συμπόσιον εἰσαγωγὴ παρέγγυραφός ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ Κρητικοῦ χοροῦ μετενηγμένη, περὶ 181 οὐ φησιν ἐν Ὀπλοποιίᾳ·

¹ ἀγησίχορα Schroeder (*P.L.G.*⁶ 1. 15) ἀγησίχορα A.

^a *P.L.G.* xviii. 604; the argument is that in *P.L.G.* xviii. 606 we should read (against Aristarchus) *εξάρχοντος*, not *ἐξάρχοντες*. The word “leading,” he maintains, should refer to the minstrel, not to the tumblers. Cf 145 d, note b.

^b 205.

^c *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 76.

midst of them.” These verses they have taken over from *The Making of the Arms*,^a along with the very selfsame mistake in the use of words. For it was not the tumblers who were leaders of the dance, but they surely danced with the minstrel as leader. For “leading” belongs properly to the lyre. Hence Hesiod says in *The Shield*^b: “And the goddesses, the Muses of Pieria, led the song.” And Archilochus^c: “I myself am leader in the Lesbian paean to the accompaniment of the flute.” Stesichorus calls^d the Muse “leader of song,” while Pindar calls^e preludes “leaders of the choral bands.” Diodorus, of the school of Aristophanes, deleted the entire passage about the wedding, thinking that only the opening days of it were meant, and taking no account of the concluding portion of the festival or, again, of the aftermath^f of the party. Consequently Diodorus wishes to write: “Two tumblers among themselves”^g (with the rough breathing), thus forcing a solecism. For Homer’s phrase means, “they whirled about by themselves,” i.e. “separately,” but to use the form *heautous* for that is a solecism.

As I was saying, however, the introduction of special entertainments into this sober kind of symposium is an intrusion which has made its way over from the Cretan chorus, about which the poet says, in *The Making of the Arms*^h: “And upon it he, the

^a *Ibid. frag. 77.*

^b *Pyth. 1. 4.*

^c τὸ ἔωλον τῆς συμποσίας literally means “the stale or left-over remnant from the drinking-bout,” eaten on the succeeding days

^d Instead of “by themselves” (i.e. apart from the rest of the company); he would delete the *Od.* passage, and alter the reading in the *Il.* by a rough breathing.

^e *Il. xviii. 590*, describing the design on the shield.

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ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,
τῷ ἵκελον οἶνον ποτ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὑρεῖη
Δαιδαλος ἥσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.
ἔνθα μὲν ἡίθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ἀρχεῦντ’, ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι.
τούτοις γὰρ ἐπιβάλλει.

- πολλὸς δ’ ἴμερόεντα χορὸν περιίσταθ’ ὅμιλος
b τερπόμενος μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς
φορμίζων¹ δοιὰ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ’ αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἔξαρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσους.
τοῖς μὲν οὖν Κρησὶν ἦ τε ὅρχησις ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὸ
κυβιστᾶν. διό φησι πρὸς τὸν Κρῆτα Μηριόνην·
Μηριόνη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὅρχηστήν περ ἐόντα
ἔγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε διαμπερές, εἴ σ’ ἔβαλόν
περ.

ὅθεν καὶ Κρητικὰ καλοῦσι τὰ ὑπορχήματα.

Κρῆτα^a μὲν καλέουσι τρόπον, τὸ δὲ ὅργανον
Μολοσσόν.

- c “οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι Λακωνισταί,” φησὶν δὲ Τίμαιος,
“ἐν τετραγώνοις χοροῖς ἥδον.” καθόλου δὲ διά-
φορος ἦν ἡ μουσικὴ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι, τῶν μὲν
Ἀθηναίων τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς χοροὺς καὶ τοὺς
κυκλίους προτιμώντων, Συρακοσίων δὲ τοὺς ἰαμ-
βιστάς, ἄλλων δὲ ἄλλο τι δὲ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος οὐ
μόνον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Μενελάου συμπόσιον ἐμβαλὼν
οὓς οὐ προσῆκε στίχους καὶ τῆς Λακώνων παιδείας
ἄλλοτριον ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σω-
d φροσύνης, ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Κρητικοῦ χοροῦ τὸν ὥδον
ἔξενλεν, ἐπιτεμών τὰ ποιήματα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

¹ μετὰ δέ σφιν . . . φορμίζων added by Kailbel.

halting one, of exceeding fame, skilfully wrought a choral band, like that which Daedalus once in wide Cnossus trained for Ariadne of the beautiful locks. In that band danced young men and maidens worth many cows, holding each others' hands at the wrist." For to these verses he adds^a: " And large was the throng that stood about the lovely chorus, making merry ; and among them the divine minstrel sang as he played the lyre, and two tumblers, leaders of the dance, whirled about by themselves in the midst of them " Not only, therefore, is dancing indigenous among the Cretans, but so also is tumbling. Hence one says to Meriones, who is a Cretan^b. " Meriones, dancer though thou art, soon had my spear put an end to thee for ever, if I had but hit thee." Whence lively dances are called Cretan^c: " Cretan they call the manner,^d but the instrument is Molossian " " The so-called ' Laconists,' " says Timaeus,^e " sang in rectangular choruses." Broadly speaking, the music of the Greeks varied ; the Athenians held in special esteem the Dionysiac and circular choruses, the Syracusans affected the choral songs of the lampoon-writers, while others again had something different. Aristarchus, however, by interpolating in the symposium of Menelaus verses which did not belong there, has produced a symposium which is foreign to Laconian culture and to that king's sobriety, and what is more, he has even removed the minstrel from the Cretan chorus by cutting down the verses in the following manner. " And large

^a 1 603. ^b *Il.* xvi 617, the speaker is Aeneas.

^c Simonides, *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 31
^d *sc.* of the dance.

^e *F.H.G.* 1. 201.

² Κρήτα Plutarch, *Qu. symp.* ix 15 2 : κρήταν AC.

ATHENAEUS

πολλὸς δ' ἴμερόεντα χορὸν περιίσταθ³ ὅμιλος
τερπόμενος· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἔξάρχοντες ἐδύνευον κατὰ μέσσους

ῶστ⁴ ἀνίατον γίνεσθαι παντάπασι τὸ ἔξάρχοντες,
μηκέτι δυναμένης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ωδὸν ἀναφορᾶς
σώζεσθαι.

Διότι δὲ οὐ πιθανὸν ἀκρόαμα παρὰ τῷ Μενελάῳ
τυγχάνειν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ δι’ ὅμιλίας ὅλον τὸ συμ-
ε πόσιον περαίνεσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλήλους, ὄνομα δὲ
μηδὲν εἰρῆσθαι τοῦ ωδοῦ μηδὲ ωδὴν ἦν ἢδε
μηδὲ προσέχειν τοὺς περὶ Τηλέμαχον αὐτῷ,
καθάπερ δ’ ἐν σιωπῇ τινι καὶ ἡρεμίᾳ¹ κατανοεῖν
μᾶλλον τὸν οἶκον· καίτοι γε πῶς οὐκ ἀπίθανον
τοὺς τῶν φρονιμωτάτων υἱέας Ὀδυσσέως καὶ
Νέστορος ἐπαριστέρους εἰσάγεσθαι, ὥστε τρόπον
ἀγροίκων τινῶν μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς παρεσκευα-
σμένοις ἀκροάμασιν; ὁ γοῦν Ὀδυσσεὺς προσέχει
τοῖς τῶν Φαιάκων ἀσματοποιοῖς

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

f μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θαύμαζε δὲ θυμῷ,
καίπερ ἔχων πολλὰ τὰ περιέλκοντα καὶ δυνάμενος
εἰπεῖν·

κήδεά μοι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἥπερ ἀοιδαί
πῶς οὖν ἀν ἀβέλτερος εἴη ὁ Τηλέμαχος ωδοῦ
παρόντος καὶ κυβιστητῆρος προσκύπτων πρὸς τὸν
Πεισίστρατον καὶ περὶ τῶν σκευῶν διαλεγόμενος²;
182 ἀλλ’ Ὁμηρος ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς ζωγράφος πάντα ὅμοιον

¹ ἡρεμίᾳ Musurus : ἐρημαῖ A.

² καὶ περὶ τῶν σκευῶν διαλεγόμενος Gulick · καὶ τῶν σκευῶν
διατιθέμενος A. διαψιθυριζόμενος, “whispering” (?)

was the throng that stood about the lovely chorus, making merry ; and two tumblers, leaders of the dance, whirled about by themselves in the midst of them ”^a Consequently it becomes impossible to emend “leaders,” since it is no longer possible to keep the reference to the minstrel.^b

That it is not likely that there was any such entertainment in the house of Menelaus is plain from the fact that the entire symposium is carried on by conversation held among the guests themselves ; there is no mention whatever of the name of the minstrel, nor even of the song which he sang ; nor do Telemachus and his followers pay any attention to him, but silently, as it were, and quietly observe the room ; and yet is it not at least unlikely that the sons of the wisest men, Odysseus and Nestor, should be represented in the scene as boorish men, paying no attention, in the manner of rustics, to the entertainments provided for them ? Odysseus, at any rate, is attentive to the song-makers of the Phaeacians^c : “ But Odysseus gazed at the twinkling of their feet, and marvelled in his soul,” although he had many things to distract him, and could say^d : “ Cares there are in my heart, more than songs.” Would not Telemachus, then, be stupid if, when a minstrel was present and a tumbler as well, he bent his head in a whisper to Peisistratus^e and conversed about the vessels before them ?^f Homer, however, like the good artist that he is, portrays

^a i.e., he struck out the words, “and among them the divine minstrel sang as he played the lyre.”

^b By changing it to the genitive singular ; see 180 d, note a.

^c *Od. viii. 264.*
^d *ibid. 154* ; but Homer has *ἀεθλοι*, “ games,” for *ἀιδαί*, “ songs.”

^e *Od. iv. 70.*

^f See crit. note.

ATHENAEUS

τῷ πατρὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον παρίστησι. πεποίηκεν γοῦν ἀμφοτέρους τὸν μὲν τῷ Ἀλκιωδῷ, τὸν δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ διὰ δακρύων γνωριζομένους.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἐπικουρείῳ¹ συμποσίῳ κολάκων ἐστὶν ἄγυρις ἀλλήλους ἐπαινούντων, τὸ δὲ Πλάτωνος πλῆρες ἐστιν μυκτηριστῶν ἀλλήλους τωθαζόντων· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου λόγον² σιωπῶ. παρὰ δ' Ὁμήρῳ συγκεκρότηται³ τὰ σώφρονα συμπόσια. καὶ ποτε μὲν ἐπήνεσέ τις φήσας πρὸς τὸν Μενέλαον ὡς οὐ τολμᾷ λέγειν

b ἄντα σέθεν, τοῦ νῷ θεοῦ ὡς τερπόμεθ' αὐδῆ.

δ δ' ἐπελάβετό τινος τῶν οὐκ ὁρθῶς λεγομένων ἥ γυγνομένων.

καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι που ἔστι, πίθοιό μοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος μεταδόρπιος.

δ δὲ πάλιν.

Τηλέμαχε, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων.

187 ὅπτε γὰρ κόλακα πρέπον ἐστὶν εἶναι οὕτε μυκτηριστὴν. πάλιν Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητεῖ περὶ δυσπεψίας ὥστ' οἰωνίσασθαι, εἴθ' ἔξῆς περὶ πυρετῶν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτρέχουσαν τῇ λέξει ἀρρυθμίαν τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; Πλάτων δὲ—τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς λυγγὸς ὀχλούμενον καὶ θεραπευόμενον ἀνακογχυλιασμοῖς ὕδατος, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς

¹ Ἐπικουρείῳ Kaihel: ἐπικούρωι A: ^π ἐπικουρίου lemma

² τὸν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου περὶ Σωκράτους λόγον, “Alcibiades’ speech about Socrates”?

³ συγκεκρότηται Schweighauser: κεκρότηται AC

⁴ On the transposition of the following see iv 177 a, critical note (p. 304; cf. p. 326)

Telemachus as in all things resembling his father. He has, at any rate, represented them both as being recognized by their tears, the one in the court of Alcinous,^a the other at the court of Menelaus.^b

But in the symposium of Epicurus there is an assemblage of flatterers praising one another, while the symposium of Plato is full of men who turn their noses up in jeers at one another; for I pass over in silence what is said about Alcibiades.^c In Homer, on the other hand, only sober symposia are organized. And sometimes one gives praise, saying to Menelaus that he dares not speak^d “In thy presence, whose voice we twain delight in as in the voice of a god.” And Homer reproved some of the things said or done not rightly^e: “And now, if it can in any wise be, yield to me, for I delight not in lamentation while supping.” And again he says^f: “Telemachus, what a word has escaped the barrier of thy teeth?” That, surely, is not the mark either of a flatterer or one who turns his nose up. Again, Epicurus in his symposium puts questions about indigestion in order to get omens from it; following that he asks about fevers. What need is there even to speak of the lack of proportion which pervades his style? As for Plato—I pass over the man who was bothered by the hiccups and cured by gargles of water and still more by the insertion

^a Odysseus, *Od.* viii. 521.

^b Telemachus, *Od.* iv. 113.

^c Or possibly, “the speech by Alcibiades,” on Socrates, which is an encomium, and sufficiently refutes the writer’s charge against Plato’s symposium.

^d *Od.* iv. 160; Peisistratus, Nestor’s son, speaks.

^e *Ibid.* 193, with the same speaker.

^f *Od.* iii. 230; Athena reproves Telemachus.

ATHENAEUS

ὑποθήκαις τοῦ κάρφους ἵνα τὴν ῥῖνα κυήσας¹
 πτάρη, παρίημι· κωμῳδεῖν γὰρ ἥθελε καὶ δια-
 σύρειν—χλευάζει τε τὰ ἴσοκωλα τὰ Ἀγάθωνος
 καὶ τὰ ἀντίθετα, καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ παρ-
 ἀγει λέγοντα ὅτι πασχητιᾶ. ἀλλ’ ὅμως τοιαῦτα
 d γράφοντες τὸν Ὁμηρον ἐκβάλλουσι τῶν πόλεων.
 ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἐκ θύμβρας, ἔφη Δημοχάρης, λόγχη
 οὔτ’ ἐκ τοιούτων λόγων ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται.
 οὐ μόνον δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδην διασύρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 Χαρμίδην καὶ Εὐθύνδημον καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς
 τῶν νέων. τοῦτο δὲ κωμῳδοῦντός ἐστι τὴν
 Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μουσεῖον, ἦν
 δὲ μὲν Πίνδαρος “Ἐλλάδος ἔρεισμα” ἔφη,
 Θουκυδίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰς Εὐριπίδην ἐπιγράμματι
 “Ἐλλάδος Ἐλλάδα,” δὲ Πύθιος ἐστίαν καὶ
 e πρυτανεῖον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. διότι τούς τούς
 σται τῶν νεανίσκων πάρεστι σκοπεῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 Πλάτωνος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδην φησὶν ἐν
 τῷ διαλόγῳ παρακμάσαντα τότε πρώτον
 ἄρξασθαι Σωκράτει λαλεῖν ὅτε πάντες αὐτὸν
 κατέλιπον οἱ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμηταί. λέγει
 γὰρ ταῦτα κατ’ ἀρχὰς τοῦ διαλόγου. τὰ δὲ ἐν
 τῷ Χαρμίδῃ ἐναντιώματα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαλόγου
 δὲ βουλόμενος εἴσεται. ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀσυμ-
 f φώνως ποτὲ μὲν σκοτοδινιῶντα καὶ μεθυσκόμενον
 τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι καὶ γινόμενον ἔξεδρον καὶ

¹ κυήσας Plato (οἷω κυήσας ἀν τὴν ῥῖνα) κυήσας A

^a Symp. 185 D E.

^b Plato, Rep. 595.

^c Cf. Athen. 215 c.

^d Symp. 222 B.

^e i.e. the abode of the Muses.

^f P.L.G. frag. 76.

^g Anthol. Pal. vii. 45.

^h Cf. 254 b. After the capture of Athens by Lysander,

of a straw to tickle his nose and make him sneeze^a; for he wanted to introduce fun and mockery—Plato, I say, ridicules Agathon's balanced clauses and antitheses, and also brings on the scene Alcibiades, who avows that he is consumed with lust. Nevertheless, while writing that kind of stuff, they banish Homer from their states!^b But, as Demochares used to say,^c you cannot make a lance-head out of savoury, nor a good man out of such talk. Plato ridicules not only Alcibiades but also Charmides and Euthydemus^d and many other young men. This is the characteristic of one who satirizes the city of Athens, the Museum^e of Hellas, which Pindar called^f the “prop of Hellas,” and which Thucydides, in the epigram on Euripides,^g called “the Hellas of Hellas,” while the Pythian god proclaimed it the “hearth and town-hall of the Hellenes.”^h The reason why he has traduced the young men may be seen in Plato himself. In the case of Alcibiades, he says in the dialogue named from him that he did not begin to have converse with Socrates until he had passed out of his early bloom, when all who lusted for his body had deserted him. He tells us this at the beginning of the dialogue.ⁱ The contradictory things which he says in the case of Charmides may be learned from the dialogue itself by anyone who wishes. For he represents him^j inconsistently as sometimes in a state of vertigo and intoxication for love of the lad, and beside the Spartans were warned by the oracle $\tauὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν$ $\tauῆς Ἑλλάδος μὴ κινεῖν$, “disturb not the common hearth of Hellas,” Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 6. The prytaneum was the residence of the prytanes, or City Fathers, in all cities. Cf. 186 a, note a (p. 320).

ⁱ *Alcib.* 103 a.^j Socrates.

ATHENAEUS

καθάπερ νεβρὸν ὑποπεπτωκότα λέοντος ἀλκῆ,
ἄμα δὲ καταφρονεῦν φησι τῆς ὥρας αὐτοῦ.

’Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ Ξενοφῶντος συμπόσιον καί-
περ ἐπαινούμενον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἔχει τούτων
ἐπιλήψεις. Καλλίας μὲν γάρ συνάγει τὸ συμ-
πόσιον, ἐπειδήπερ τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτοῦ Αὐτόλυκος
Παναθήναια παγκράτιον ἐστεφανώθη. καὶ εὐθὺς
188 οἱ κατακλιθέντες τῷ παιδὶ προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν
καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ πατρὸς παρακαθημένου. “ ὡσπερ
γάρ ὅταν φέγγος ἐν νυκτὶ παρῇ πάντων προσάγεται
τὰ ὅμματα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Αὐτολύκου κάλλος
πάντων ἐφέλκεται τὰς ὅψεις ἐφ' ἑαυτό. ἐπειτα
τῶν παρόντων οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐπασχέ τι τὴν
ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου· οἱ μέν γε σιωπηλότεροι
ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό πως.” ἀλλ’
οὐχ “Ομηρος τοιοῦτόν τι εἰπεῖν ἐπεχείρησε καίπερ
τῆς Ἐλένης παρούσης, περὶ ἦσ¹ τοῦ κάλλους τις
τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῇ τοιαῦτ’ εἶπεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας
ἐκνικώμενος.

b οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐνκυνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῆδ² ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆσ³ εἰς ὥπα ἔοικεν.

εἶτά φησιν.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τοίηπερ ἐοῦσ³ ἐν νησὶν νεέσθω.

τὰ δὲ μειράκια τὰ ὡς τὸν Μενέλαον παραγενόμενα,
ὁ Νέστορος νίδιος καὶ ὁ Τηλέμαχος, ἐν οἷνω ὅντες
καὶ ἐν γαμικῷ συμποσίῳ διατρίβοντες καὶ τῆς
c Ἐλένης παρακαθημένης, ὡς πρέπον ἐστίν, ἡσυχίαν

¹ ἦσ Dindorf. τῆς A

^a Charm. 155 d.

^b Xen. Symp. 1. 9.

himself, and as a fawn cowering before the strength of a lion^a; and then again he declares that he takes no thought of the lad's beauty.

Nevertheless, even the symposium described by Xenophon, although it is praised, admits occasions for censure not fewer than these. Callias, for example, gets the symposium together when his favourite Autolycus had been crowned victor in the pancratium at the Panathenaea. And immediately the guests on the couches give their attention to the lad, even though his father is seated beside him "For just as when a blaze of light, appearing at night, attracts the eyes of all, so also the beauty of Autolycus draws the gaze of all to itself. And so there was no one present whose soul was not somehow affected by the lad; some, to be sure, lapsed into greater silence, but others began to assume different poses."^b Homer, on the other hand, has not undertaken to tell us anything of this sort even though he has Helen before him, of whose beauty one of those who sat opposite her uttered words like these, forced from him by the truth^c: "'Tis no cause for anger that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans should suffer woes a long time for such a woman as she, for she is marvellously like the deathless goddesses in countenance." Yet later he says: "But even so, such though she be, let her go home in the ships." And then there are the young lads who pay a visit to Menelaus, Nestor's son and Telemachus; plied with wine, attending a wedding symposium, they hold their peace in the presence of Helen, as is

^a *Il.* iii. 156, the old men of Troy are watching Helen, and speak the words quoted. Cf. Aristot. *Nic Eth.* 1109 b, where we have a sermon on this text.

ATHENAEUS

ἄγοντες¹ πρὸς τὸ περιβόητον ἐκκεκωφωμένοι κάλλος. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης τίνος χάριν τῶν αὐλητρίδων ἀνεχόμενος καὶ τοῦ ὄρχουμένου παιδὸς καὶ κιθαρίζοντος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς κυβιστώσης γυναικὸς ἀπρεπῶς τὸ μύρον ἀπείπατο, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀγελαστὶ ἡνέσχετο κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη.

τοὺς ὡχριῶντας,² τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις,
ῶν ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης καὶ Χαιρεφῶν.

Καὶ μὴν ἀσύμφωνα καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ αὐστηρόδητῃ. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κριτόβουλος, μειράκιον ἀστεῖον, γέροντα καὶ διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τὸν Σωκράτη σκώπτει πολὺ τῶν Σιληνῶν αἰσχίονα λέγων εἶναι ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ διαμορφόσκοπεῖται καὶ κριτὰς ἐλόμενος τόν τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν ὄρχηστρίδα προτίθησι νικητήρια φιλήματα τῶν κριτῶν. τίς οὖν τῶν νέων ἔντυχὼν τούτοις οὐκ ἐπιτριβήσεται μᾶλλον ἥπερ εἰς ἀρετὴν ἄν³ προσαχθείη;

Παρὰ δ' Ὁμήρῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μενελάου συμποσίῳ προβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις ὕσπερ ἐν διατριβῇ ζητήματα καὶ πολιτικῶς ὅμιλοιντες τέρπουσιν ἀλλήλους ε καὶ ἡμᾶς. ὁ γοῦν Μενέλαος παραγενομένων ἐκ τοῦ λουτρῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν παρατεθέντων παρακαλεῖ μεταλαμβάνειν λέγων τάδε·

¹ ἄγοντες A : ἄγοντες C

² τοὺς ὡχριῶντας Aristoph. : τοὺς ωτας τοὺς A

³ ἀν added by Kaibel

* Xen. *Symp.* 2. 3, where Socrates frankly enjoys the dinner and the amusements which follow, but refuses to

proper, struck completely dumb before her famous beauty. But Socrates ! Why did he tolerate the flute-girls, the boy dancing and playing the lyre, and even the woman who indecently turns somersaults, and then decline the perfume ? ^a Nobody, indeed, could have borne his use of it without laughter if he had in mind these verses ^b " Those pale-faced men, those unshod beggars, you mean, of whom Socrates, poor devil, is one, and Chaerephon."

But what follows this is also inconsistent with the strictness of his life. That is to say, Critobulus, a witty lad, pokes fun at Socrates, who is an elderly man and his teacher, saying ^c that he is much uglier than the Sileni. Socrates then matches his beauty, point by point, with that of Critobulus and having chosen as judges the boy and the dancing-girl, proposes as prizes for the winner the kisses of the judges. What young man, I ask, who comes upon this passage, will not be corrupted rather than stimulated to goodness ?

In Homer's account of the symposium of Menelaus, on the other hand, they propound to each other questions as though they were in a company of learned men, and by civilized conversation they delight one another, and us as well. Menelaus, for example, when Telemachus and his associates have returned from the bath and the accompaniments of the meal have been placed before them, invites them to take their share in these words ^d : " Help yourselves

accept Callias's offer of scents for his beard " For," he declares, " there is one odour appropriate to a woman, but another odour for a man "

^b Aristoph. *Nub.* 103.

^c Xen. *Symp.* 4. 19

^d *Od.* iv. 60.

ATHENAEUS

σίτου δ' ἄπτεσθον καὶ χαιρετον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
δείπνου παυσαμένω¹ εἰρησόμεθ' οἵτινες ἔστον.
ἔπειτα προσεπιδίδωσι τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῷ
φιλανθρωπευόμενος.

ὡς φάτο καὶ σφιν νῦτα βοὸς παρὰ πίονα θῆκεν
f ὅπτ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑλών, τά ρά οἱ γέρα πάρθεσαν αὐτῷ.
φαγόντες δ' ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ σιωπῆς, ὡς πρέπει
νέοις, ἀλλήλοις διμιλούσιν ἥρέμα προσκύψαντες
οὐ περὶ ἐδεσμάτων, φησίν, οὐδὲ τῶν² θεραπαινῶν
τοῦ κεκληκότος ὑφ' ὧν ἐλούσαντο, περὶ δὲ τῶν
κτημάτων τοῦ ὑποδεξαμένου·

Ζηνός που τοιαῦτα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται.

βέλτιον γάρ οὕτως φησὶν δ Σέλευκος γράφεσθαι.
'Αρισταρχος δὲ οὐ δεόντως γράφει.

189 Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή.

οὐ γάρ τῆς οἰκίας τὸ κάλλος μόνον ἀποθαυμάζουσι.
πῶς γάρ τὴν ἡλεκτρον καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ἐλέφας ἐν τοῖς
τοίχοις ἦν; ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ οἴκου εἰρήκασιν
ώς ἔστι “δώματα ἡχήντα”. τοιαῦτα γάρ δὴ τὰ
ὑψόροφα καὶ μεγάλα· περὶ δὲ τῶν σκευῶν τὸ

χρυσοῦ τ' ἡλεκτρου τε καὶ ἄργυρου ἡδ' ἐλέφαντος.
οἷς εἰκότως ἐπιφέρεται·

b Ζηνός που τοιαῦτα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
οὅσσα τάδ' ἀσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσ-
ορόωντα.

¹ παυσαμένου A : πασσαμένω Homer (“have eaten of the dinner”)

² τῶν added by Kaibel

^a See critical note.

^b Od. iv. 65.

to the food and enjoy yourselves ; later, when we have ceased from our dinner,^a we will ask who ye twain are." Thereupon, as a special mark of kindness, he gave them in addition some of the food that had been placed before himself^b : " Thus spake he, and took in his hands and placed before them the fat roasted chine of an ox, which they had set before him as his special portion " And after eating in silence, as becomes young men, they talk quietly with one another with heads bent together, not on the subject of the food, he says,^c nor even about their host's maidservants, by whom they had been bathed, but rather about the rich possessions of him who had given them welcome : " Such verily, are the rich possessions that are stored in the house of Zeus."^d For in this way, Seleucus says, the verse is better written. But Aristarchus writes it not as it should be : " Such verily, is the courtyard of Olympian Zeus within." For it is not merely the beauty of the house that they admire ; how, for example, could there have been amber and silver and ivory on the walls ? On the contrary, while they do comment on the house, saying that it has " resounding halls " (such, of course, are halls which are high-roofed and spacious), it is about the vessels they speak in the line,^e " of gold and amber, yea, and silver and ivory " ; after which comes naturally, " Such, verily, are the rich possessions that are stored in the house of Zeus, so countless many are these ; wonder holds me as I look upon them " But to

^a Either Masurius (185 a) or, as C. Schmidt (*De Herodico Crateteo*) thinks, Herodicus of Babylon, opponent of the Aristarcheans, of Athen 192 b, 222 a.

^b *Od.* iv. 74.

^c *Od.* iv. 73.

ATHENAEUS

οὐκ ἔστιν δ' ἀκόλουθον τῷ

Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὁλυμπίου ἐνδοθεν αὐλὴ
ἐπιφέρειν

ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά,

σόλοικον ὃν τῷ ἀσυνήθει¹ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. ἔτι
τοίνυν οὐδ' ἡ αὐλὴ ἀρμόττει ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου. ὁ γὰρ
διαπνεόμενος τόπος αὐλὴ λέγεται, καὶ διαυλωνίζειν
φαμὲν τὸ δεχόμενον ἐξ ἑκατέρου πνεῦμα χωρίον
εἴτι δὲ αὐλὸς μὲν τὸ ὄργανον, ὅτι² διέρχεται τὸ
πνεῦμα, καὶ πᾶν τὸ διατεταμένον εἰς εὐθύτητα
σχῆμα αὐλὸν καλοῦμεν ὥσπερ τὸ στάδιον καὶ τὸν
κρουνὸν τοῦ αἵματος.

αὐτίκα δ' αὐλὸς ἀνὰ ῥῖνας παχὺς ἥλθε,

καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς ὁρ-
θὸν ἀνατείνῃ αὐλῶπιν λέγονται δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ
ἱεροί τινες αὐλῶνες, ὃν μέμνηται Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ
ἐνάτῃ καλοῦσι δ' ἀρσενικῶς τοὺς αὐλῶνας, ὥσπερ
Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ δ' καὶ πάντες οἱ καταλογάδην
διηγυραφεῖς, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ θηλυκῶς. Καρκίνος μὲν
Ἀχιλλεῖ.

βαθεῖαν εἰς αὐλῶνα περιόδρομον στρατοῦ
καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Σκύθαις·

κρημνούς τε καὶ σήραγγας ἡδ' ἐπακτίας
αὐλῶνας

ἐκδεκτέον οὖν καὶ τὸ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένει ἐν τῷ

¹ ἀσυνήθει A - *ἀσυνάπτω* ("disconnected") Kai bel But why try to put sense into this pedantic nonsense?

the line, "Such, verily, is the courtyard of Olympian Zeus within," it is a *non sequitur* to add "so countless many are these," being a solecism by reason of the unusual character^a of the reading. Further, the word court-yard (*aulē*)^b does not even accord with the house. For the word used is of a place across which the air blows, and we speak of "letting a draught through," of a place which receives air from both sides. Again there is the instrument called *aulos*, because the air goes through it, and any figure prolonged in a straight line we call *aulos*, like a stadium, or a gush of blood: "Forthwith a thick gush came from his nostrils;"^c or of the helmet when it extends straight up from the middle we say that it is "tube-like."^d At Athens there are certain "sacred hollows" (*aulones*), as they are called, which Philochorus mentions in the ninth book.^e The noun meaning "hollows" is masculine, as in Thucydides, Book iv.,^f and all the historians who write in prose; but in the poets it is feminine Carcinus, in *Achilles*^g. "Into a deep hollow which surrounded the army." And Sophocles in *The Scythians*^h: "Crags and caves and hollows by the shore" We must therefore take the word as feminine also in Eratosthenes'

^a See critical note.

^b The etymologies here proceed from the verb *ἀημι*, "to blow," and comprise the words *aulē* "court," *διαυλωντίζειν*, "to let a draught through," *aulos* "pipe," "flute," "tube," lit. "blower," *aulon*, "channel," "ravine," "trench."

^c *Od.* xxii. 18.

^d *αὐλῶπτις*, according to some, meant the socket for the plume.

^e *F.H.G.* 1 409 (*Attica*)

^f ch 103 (as a proper name).

^g *T.G.F.* 2 798²

^h *ibid.* 252

ATHENAEUS

Ἐρμῆ θηλυκῶς εἰρῆσθαι “βαθὺς διαφύεται αὐλών” ἀντὶ τοῦ βαθεῖα, καθάπερ λέγεται “θῆλυς ἔέρση”. πᾶν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐλή τε καὶ αὐλῶν λέγεται. ε νῦν δὲ τὰ βασιλεια λέγουσιν αὐλάς, ὥσπερ Μέν-
ανδρος.

αὐλὰς θεραπεύειν καὶ σατράπας.

καὶ Δίφιλος·

αὐλὰς θεραπεύειν δ’ ἔστιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
ἢ φυγάδος ἢ πεινῶντος ἢ μαστιγίου,

ἥτοι διὰ τὸ μεγάλους ἔχειν τοὺς πρὸ τῶν οἴκων
ὑπαιθρίους τόπους ἢ τῷ παραυλίζεσθαι καὶ παρ-
κοιμᾶσθαι τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦς βασιλείοις. Ὁμη-
ρος δὲ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀεὶ τάπτει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων
τόπων, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ τοῦ ἔρκείου Ζηνὸς βωμός. ὁ
μέντοι γε Πηλεὺς καταλαμβάνεται

αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ· ἔχει δὲ χρύσειον ἀλεισον,
σπένδων αἰθοπα οἶνον ἐπ' αἰθομένοισι ἱεροῖσι.

ὅ δὲ Πρίαμος

αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον.
καὶ δὲ Ὁδυσσεὺς προστάττει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φήμιον.

ἄλλ’ ἔξελθόντες μεγάρων εὗ ναιεταόντων
90 εἰκ φόνου εἰς αὐλήν.

ὅτι δὲ ὅμοι τόν τε οἶκον καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἐπήνεσεν
δὲ Τηλέμαχος ἐμφανίζει δὲ Μενέλαος·

τέκνα φίλ’, ἢ τοι Ζηνὶ βροτῶν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐρίζοι.
ἀθάνατοι γάρ τοῦ γε δόμοι καὶ κτήματ’ ἔσαιν.

Hermes,^a where we have “A deep ^b hollow runs through it,” *bathys* being for *batheia*, precisely like *thēlys eersē*, “fresh” dew. Everything, then, of this nature ^c is said to be an *aulé* (“court-yard”) or an *aulōn* (“hollow”). But in the present instance, in speaking of the king’s palace they say *aulae* (“courts”), as Menander ^d does: “To worship courts and nabobs.” And Diphilus ^e: “To worship courts, as it seems to me, stamps one as an exile or a starving or a rogue from the whipping-post.” That is, they are called “courts” because the open spaces in front of the house are large, or because the king’s bodyguard bivouac ^f and lie down to sleep beside the palace. But Homer always uses “court” (singular) of the open spaces, where the altar of Zeus, god of the enclosure, was placed. Peleus, at least, is found ^g “In the feeding-place of the court, and he held a gold goblet as he poured a libation of sparkling wine upon the blazing victims.” And Priam ^h: “In the feeding-places of the court was rolling in the filth.” Odysseus, too, commands Phemius and his companion: “Nay then, depart from the well-built halls out of the slaughter into the court.”ⁱ But that Telemachus praised the house as well as the rich possessions is made clear by Menelaus: “Dear children, surely no mortal man would vie with Zeus; for *his* halls and rich possessions are deathless.”^j

^a Frag. 8 Hiller.^b *bathys*, masculine, instead of *batheia*, feminine; so *thēlys*, masculine, for the feminine, *thēlyia*, Hesiod, *Scut.* 395.^c i.e. where the wind may blow through, resuming 189 b.^d Kock ii. 235. ^e Kock ii. 572.^f *παραυλίσεσθαι*, “to sleep in the open,” is another derivative from *auλή*. ^g *Il.* xi. 774.^h *Il.* xxiv. 640. ⁱ *Od.* xxii. 375. ^j *Od.* iv. 78.

ATHENAEUS

”Αλλὰ γὰρ ἐπαινιτέον ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐν ὧ
“Ομηρος ἐπιδεξίως ἀφορμὴν εὑρεν λόγων, ὡστε
κτῆσιν συγκρῖναι φίλου. οὐ γὰρ ὡς πρόβλημα
προτείνει, ἀλλ’ ἐπιχαρίτως παρείρας ὁ Μενέλαος,
ἐπειδὴ ἥκουσε τῶν ἐπαίνων, τὸ μὲν εἶναι πλούσιος
οὐκ ἀρνεῦται· κάνταῦθα δὲ περιελὼν τὸν φθόνον
b “ πολλὰ γάρ φησιν παθὼν ” ἔχειν αὐτά.¹ οὐ
μέντοι γε ἀξιοῦ ἔαυτὸν θεοῖς συγκρίνειν.

ἀθάνατοι γὰρ τοῦ γε δόμοι καὶ κτήματ’ ἔασιν.

ἐνδειξάμενος δὲ φιλάδελφον ἥθος καὶ μετ’ ἀνάγκης
φήσας ζῆν τε καὶ πλουτεῖν ἀντιπαρέθηκε τὸν τῆς
φιλίας λόγον.

c ὧν ὅφελον τριτάτην περ ἔχων ἐν δώμασι μοῖραν
ναιέιν, οἱ δ’ ἄνδρες σόοι ἔμμεναι οἱ τότ’ ὅλοντο
Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ ἔκας “Αργεος ἵπποβότοιο.

τίς ἀν οὖν τῶν ἐκγόνων ἐκείνων τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοι-
ούτου τεθνηκότων οὐκ ἀν κατ’ ἀξίαν² δόξειεν τὴν
ἐπὶ τῇ στερήσει τοῦ πατρὸς λύπην τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς
εὐχαρίστῳ μνήμῃ διορθουμένην, ὅπως δὲ μὴ
δόξῃ κοινὸς εἶναι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς παραπλησίως
αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐνδεδειγμένους, ἐπήνεγκεν.

d τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσον ὀδύρομαι ἀχνύμενός περ,
ὡς ἐνὸς ὅστε μοι ὕπνον ἀπεχθαίρει καὶ ἐδωδήν.

¹ αὐτά Kaibel : αὐτὸν A.C.

² κατ’ ἀξίαν Kaibel · ἀνταξίαν A : ἀταξίαν C

But enough of this. We must return to the symposium, in which Homer has skilfully found occasion in his story to compare the possessions of one who was dear to him.^a For Menelaus does not propound it as a question for debate, but with charming insinuation, after he has listened to their praises, he at first does not deny that he is rich ; but then, divesting his words of any invidiousness,^b he says that he holds his possessions “ after undergoing many sufferings.” Nevertheless he does not presume to compare himself with gods : “ For *his* (Zeus’s) halls and rich possessions are deathless.” And after displaying his character, as one who loved his brother, and avowing that it was through fate^c that he was still alive and enjoying his wealth, he has, by way of contrast, introduced this word of loving friendship : “ Would that I dwelt in my halls with but a third portion of this wealth, and that the heroes were safe and sound who perished at that time in wide Troy-land, far from Argos, the pasture-ground of horses ”^d Who, therefore, among the descendants of those who had died for such a man as that, would not regard the grief which they felt for their father’s loss as recompensed by this grateful mention of their father ? But in order that it might not seem that he cherished the same feeling alike for all who have displayed goodwill as he had, he added : “ For all these men I mourn not so much, grieved though I am, as I mourn for him,^e the one who causes sleep and food to be loathsome to

^a with those of Zeus ^b lit “ envy,” i.e. of the gods

^c lit. “ necessity ” This, as Wilamowitz points out, seems to refer to a verse (*Od.* iv. 93 a) rejected by the scholiast as absurd. οὐδέ τι βούλόμενος, ἀλλὰ κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης.

^d *Od.* iv. 97.

^e Odysseus.

ATHENAEUS

ἴνα δὲ μὴ φαινηται μηδενὸς τῶν ἐκείνου παραμελῶν
ἐμνήσθη κατ' ὄνομα·

οὐδύρονται νύ που αὐτὸν

Λαέρτης θ' ὁ γέρων καὶ ἔχεφρων Πηνελόπεια
Τηλέμαχός θ', διν ἔλειπε νέον γεγαῶτ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

τοῦ δὲ δακρύσαντος πρὸς τὴν μνήμην ὁ μὲν ἐφίστησι κάν τοσούτῳ . . τῇ¹ τῆς Ἐλένης ἐπεισόδῳ
ε κάκείνης ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τεκμηραμένης—πάνυ
γάρ αἱ γυναῖκες διὰ τὸ παρατηρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλλήλων
σωφροσύνην δειναὶ τὰς ὁμοιότητας τῶν παιδῶν
πρὸς τοὺς γονέας ἐλέγξαι—παρεμβάλλοντός τινα
λόγον καὶ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου—χρὴ γάρ καὶ τοῦ
τοῦ μὴ παρεῖναι δορυφορήματος τρόπον—καὶ
διαλεχθέντος εὐσχημόνως περὶ τῆς αἰδοῦς τοῦ
Τηλεμάχου, πάλιν ἐπιβάλλει ὁ Μενέλαος περὶ τῆς
τοῦ Ὁδυσσέως φιλίας ὅτι μετὰ μόνου κατα-
γηράναι μάλιστ' ἄν ἥθελεν ἐκείνου.² κατὰ δὲ τὸ
εἰκὸς οἱ μὲν δακρύουσιν, ἡ δ' Ἐλένη Διὸς οὖσα
θυγάτηρ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σοφῶν μεμαθη-
κυῖα πολλοὺς λόγους εἰς τὸν οἶνον ἐμβάλλει πανακὲς
τῷ ὅντι φάρμακον καὶ ἄρχεται διηγεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ
τοῦ Ὁδυσσέως μεταξὺ ταλασιουργίας ἀπτομένη,
οὐ δι' ἀρέσκειαν τοῦτο πράττουσα, ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν
191 ἔχουσα τὴν τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν. ἡ γοῦν Ἀφροδίτη
ἐρχομένη πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὸ μονομάχιον εἰκά-
ζεται.

γρηὶ δέ μιν εἰκυῖα παλαιγενέν προσέειπεν
εἰροκόμῳ, ἡ οἱ Λακεδαίμονι ναιεταούσῃ
ῆσκειν εἴρια καλά.

¹ Lacuna marked by Wilamowitz. τῇ added by Kaibel.

² εκείνου Schweighäuser. μετ' ἐκείνου AC

me ”^a And that it may not appear that he forgets anyone related to him^b he has mentioned them by name . “ For him then, I ween, grieve the aged Laertes, and prudent Penelope, and Telemachus, whom he left a new-born child in his house.”^c When Telemachus burst into tears at the mention, Menelaus notices him and at that moment . . . ^d with the entrance of Helen ; and she guessed who Telemachus was from family likeness For women, because of their habit of keeping an eye on each other’s honour, are very keen at detecting the points of resemblance which children have with their parents. There follows a speech interjected by Peisistratus, since he must not be in the scene as a mere bodyguard, and after he has talked becomingly about Telemachus’s modesty, once more Menelaus makes mention of his love for Odysseus, saying that of all things he would have liked most to grow old in company with Odysseus alone. Naturally they weep ; but Helen, being a daughter of Zeus, and having learned many counsels from the wise men of Egypt, puts into the wine a drug which is veritably all-healing, and begins a narrative of her experiences with Odysseus while her hand is engaged in spinning, a pursuit which she followed not for pleasure, but because she had formed the habit at home. At any rate, Aphrodite comes before her after the duel,^e assuming a disguise : “ She spake to her, likening herself to an aged crone who cards the wool, and who was wont to prepare for her the fine wool in populous Lacedaemon.” And

^a *Od.* iv. 104. ^b Odysseus ^c *Od* iv. 110.

^d The text is defective ; perhaps, “ he recovered himself.”
^e *Il.* iii. 386.

ATHENAEUS

ἐμφανίζεται δ' αὐτῆς οὐ παρέργως τὸ φίλεργον
κάκ τούτων.

- τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἄμ' "Αδρήστη κλισίην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκεν.
'Άλκιππη δὲ τάπητα φέρεν μαλακοῦ ἐρίοιο,
b Φυλὼ δ' ἀργύρεον τάλαρον φέρε, τόν οἱ ἔδωκεν
'Άλκανδρη, Πολύβοιο δάμαρ.
- τόν ρά οἱ ἀμφίπολος Φυλὼ παρέθηκε φέρουσα
νήματος ἀσκητοῦ βεβυσμένον· αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
ἢλακάτη τετάνυστο ἴοδνεφὲς εἶρος ἔχουσα.
ἔοικε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν ἑαυτῆς καλλιτεχνίαν συνορᾶν.
τῷ γοῦν Τηλεμάχῳ πέπλον τινὰ δωρουμένη φησί·
c δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγώ, τέκνου φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι,
μνῆμ' "Ελένης χειρῶν, πολυηράτου ἐς γάμου ὥρην,
σῇ δ' ἀλόχῳ φορέειν.
αὕτη δ' ἡ φιλεργία τὴν σωφροσύνην αὐτῆς κατα-
μηνύει· οὐ χλιδῶσα γὰρ οὐδὲ θρυπτομένη διὰ τὸ
κάλλος εἰσάγεται. εὑρίσκεται γοῦν περὶ ἵστον
նφαίνουσα καὶ ποικίλλουσα·
d τὴν δ' εὗρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἵστον ὕφαινε,
δίπλακα μαρμαρέην πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ 'Αχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
οὓς ἔθεν εἴνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' "Αρηος παλαμάων.
Διδάσκει δ' ἡμᾶς "Ομηρος δτι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς κε-
κλημένους ἐφ' ἐστίασιν παρακαλεῖν ἀπανίστασθαι
τοὺς κεκληκότας δ μὲν Τηλέμαχος τὸν Μενέλαον·
e ἀλλ' ἄγετ' εἰς εὐνὴν τράπεθ' ἡμέας, ὅφρα καὶ ἥδη
ὕπνῳ ὑπὸ γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες.
ἡ δὲ προσποιουμένη Μέντωρ εἴναι· Αθηνᾶ πρὸς
τὸν Νέστορα·

Helen's industry is made plain by no mere incident in these lines^a also "For her also, at the same time, Adraste set a well-wrought stool ; and Alcippe brought a rug of soft wool, Phylo brought a silver wool-basket, which Alcandre, wife of Polybus, had given her" "This, then, her handmaid Phylo brought and placed beside her, overflowing with carded fibres ; and in it lay her distaff, holding the violet-dark wool."^b And it is also likely that she herself was aware of her own skill in handiwork. At any rate, when she presents Telemachus with a robe she says^c. "This present even I, dear child, offer you, as a memorial of Helen's handiwork, against the season of your longed-for marriage, and for your wife to wear." And this industry reveals the discreetness of her character ; for she is not represented as a woman who exults and gives herself airs because of her beauty. She is discovered, at any rate, weaving at the loom and working in many designs . "Her he found in the hall ; and she was weaving, at a tall loom, a glistening mantle of double folds ; and many contests she patterned therein, of horse-taming Trojans and bronze-coated Achaeans, which they were encountering for her sake at the hands of Ares."^d

Homer teaches us, too, that guests who have been invited to a banquet should request permission of their hosts to rise and depart Telemachus says^e to Menelaus : "But come, direct us now to our beds, that we may forthwith lie down and delight ourselves in sweet sleep" And Athena, who pretends to be Mentor, says to Nestor^f : "But come,

^a *Od.* iv. 123

^a *Il.* iii. 125.

^b *ibid.* 133 ff.

^c *Od.* iv. 294.

^c *Od.* xv. 125.

^f *Od.* iii. 332.

ATHENAEUS

ἀλλ' ἄγε τάμνετε μὲν γλώσσας, κεράσασθε δὲ οἶνον,
δόφρα Ποσειδάνι καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν
σπείσαντες κοίτοιο μεδώμεθα· τοῦ γὰρ ὥρη.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἑορταῖς οὐδέν δῖσιον εἶναι δοκεῖ
πλείω χρόνον παραμένειν. γνωμικῶς γοῦν φῆσιν
παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·

ἡδη γὰρ φάσι οἴχεθ' ὑπὸ ζόφον, οὐδὲ ἔοικε
δηθὰ θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαασσέμεν, ἀλλὰ νέεσθαι.

καὶ νῦν δὴ νόμος ἐκ θυσιῶν τινῶν πρὸ ἡλίου
ἢ δύνοντος ἀπιέναι. καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ τὸ
παλαιὸν σωφρονικῶς διεξήγετο τὸ τῶν συμποσίων
γένος, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ περὶ
τούτων γεγραφώς. καθήμενοι μὲν γὰρ ἐδείπνουν,
τροφῇ τῇ λιτοτάτῃ καὶ ὑγιεινοτάτῃ χρώμενοι
καὶ οὖν τοσούτῳ ὅσος ἴκανὸς ἂν γένοιτο πρὸς
εὐθυμίαν, ἦν ὁ Πίνδαρος αἰτεῖται παρὰ τοῦ Διός·

τί ἔρδων φίλος
σοί τε, καρτερόβροντα
Κρονίδα, φίλος δὲ Μοίσαις
Εὐθυμίᾳ τε μέλων¹ εἴην,
τοῦτ' αἴτημι σε.

192 τὸ δὲ Πλάτωνος συμπόσιον οὐ συνέδριόν ἐστιν,
οὐ βουλευτήριον, οὐ λέσχη φιλοσόφων. Σω-
κράτης γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ἀποστῆναι θέλει
καίτοι Ἐρυξιμάχου καὶ Φαιδρού καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν
ἀποστάντων, ἀλλ' ἐγρήγορε μετ' Ἀγάθωνος καὶ
Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ πίνει ἔξι ἀργυροῦ φρέατος—
καλῶς γάρ τις τὰ μεγάλα ποτήρια οὕτως ὠνόμασε

¹ μέλων Casaubon μελῶν AC

cut out the tongues,^a and let the wine be mixed, that we may pour libations to Poseidon and the other immortals and bethink us of rest; for it is the season for it." At the festivals of the gods it is held to be not even pious to remain too long. At any rate Athena in Homer says sententiously^b: "For by this time the light has sunk beneath the west, and it is not seemly to sit long at the feast of the gods, but rather to go home." And so even to-day it is customary to depart from some festivals before sunset. Among Egyptians, also, every kind of symposium was conducted with moderation in ancient times, as Apollonius, who has written on this subject, says. For they sat as they dined, making use of the simplest and most healthful food, and drinking only so much wine as would be sufficient to promote good cheer, which Pindar^c prays Zeus to send: "What shall I do that I may be dear in thy eyes, thou of the mighty thunder, son of Cronus—dear to the Muses, too, and marked by the spirit of good cheer—for this I pray thee." Plato's symposium is not a session or council-chamber, nor a debating-hall^d of philosophers. For Socrates does not even want to leave the symposium, though Eryximachus and Phaedrus and some others have already gone, but stays awake with Agathon and Aristophanes and drinks out of a silver "well"—for someone^e has appropriately given this name to the larger cups—

^a The final offering cut from the victim.

^b *Od.* iii 335.

^c *P.L.G.*⁶ frag. 155.

^d *λέσχη* was properly a place to lie down or lounge in, such as a blacksmith's shop, where villagers assembled to gossip in winter. Later it meant "club."

^e Chamaeleon, in Athen. 461 c.

ATHENAEUS

—πίνει τ' ἐκ τῆς φιάλης ἐπιδέξια φησὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν δύο νυστάζειν, καταδαρθεῖν δὲ πρότερον τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη, ηδη δὲ ήμέρας ἡ ὑποφαινουόσης τὸν Ἀγάθωνα· καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη κατακομήσαντα ἐκείνους ἀναστάντα ἀπιέναι εἰς τὸ Λύκειον, ἐξόν, φησὶν δὲ Ἡρόδικος, εἰς τοὺς Ὄμηρου Λαιστρυγόνας,

ἔνθα κ' ἄυπνος ἀνὴρ δοιοὺς ἐξήρατο μισθούς.

Πᾶσα δὲ συμποσίου συναγωγὴ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε, καὶ στεφάνοις ἔχρωντο τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅμνοις καὶ ὥδαις. καὶ δοῦλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ διακονήσων, ἀλλ' οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὄνοχόσουν, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Μενελάου νιὸς καίτοι νυμφίος ὑπάρχων καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις. παρὰ δὲ τῇ καλῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ ὁ Ἐρμῆς οἰνοχοεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τἄλλα δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαζον τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν ἐλευθεροι, καὶ οἱ δειπνήσαντες ἀπελύοντο φωτὸς ὄντος. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν συμποσίων ἐγίνοντό τινες καὶ βουλαί, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκινόου συμπόσιον, πρὸς δὲ ἀποτέταται δὲ τοῦ Ὁδυσσέως λόγος

οὐ γάρ ἔγωγέ τι φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
d η̄ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα,
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ,

ξένου ὑποδοχὴν ἔχει, ὄντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Φαιάκων τρυφερῶν. ὅπερ συμβάλλων τις πρὸς

¹ ὁ added here by Kaibel: Ὁδυσσέως ὁ Musurus.

and he also drinks out of a shallow cup, in a round from left to right ^a He says further that after this the other two began to doze, but Aristophanes fell asleep first, while Agathon did not drop off until daylight began to show ; and then Socrates put them to bed, and rising up departed to the Lyceum, although, as Herodicus says, he might better have gone to Homer's Laestrygones,^b " where a sleepless man could have earned double wages "

Every gathering among the ancients to celebrate a symposium acknowledged the god as the occasion for it, and made use of chaplets appropriate to the gods as well as hymns and songs And there was no slave to serve them, but young men, sons of free men, were the cup-bearers, as for example the son of Menelaus, who was cup-bearer, even though he was bridegroom, at the very wedding-feast itself. And in the fair Sappho ^c even Hermes is cup-bearer to the gods In fact, free-born men made ready all other things needful for the diners, and those who had dined separated while it was daylight In some Persian symposia there also occurred debates,^d as in Agamemnon's during the campaign The symposium of Alcinous, to which the speech of Odysseus refers ^e. " I say, for my part, that there is no issue more delightful than when good cheer possesses the whole house, and feasters in the halls listen to the minstrel," admits the welcome to a stranger, since the Phaeacians were of themselves lovers of luxury If now, one compares it with the

^a Cf 463 f, 152 d note a., Plat. *Symp* 223 c

^b Od x .84. On Herodicus see 188 f, note e.

^c P.L.G.⁴ frag. 51, Athen 425 c

^d The text is defective. Cf. 144 a. ^e Od. ix. 5.

ATHENAEUS

τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων συμπόσια κοσμιώτερον ἄν εῦροι, καίτοι τοῦτο περιέχον καὶ ἵλαρότητα καὶ παιδιάν εὐσχήμονα. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν γυμνικὸν ἥδει ὁ ὡδὸς “ἀμφ’ Ἀρεος φιλότητα” μῆθόν τινα χλεύῃ κεκραμένον, καίτοι εἰς τὴν μηνστηροφονίαν ὑποθηκῶν ὑποτιθεμένων τῷ εὐθεῖον ὁδοῖς, ὡς¹ καὶ τοῦ Κυλλοποδίωνος τὸν ἀνδρείοτατον “Αρη καταγωνισαμένου.

Ἐκαθέζοντο δὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες οἱ τότε πολλαχοῦ γοῦν ὁ “Ομηρός φησιν.

Ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε.

ὅ γὰρ θρόνος αὐτὸς μόνον ἐλευθέριός ἐστιν καθέδρα σὺν ὑποποδίῳ, ὅπερ θρῆνυν καλοῦντες ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν ὠνόμασαν θρόνον τοῦ θρήσασθαι χάριν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθέζεσθαι τάσσουσιν, ὡς Φιλίτας·

θρήσασθαι² πλατάνῳ λασίῃ³ ὑπο.

ἴ δὲ κλισμὸς περιττοτέρως κεκόσμηται ἀνακλίσει. τούτων δ’ εὔτελέστερος ἦν ὁ δίφρος· τῷ γοῦν ‘Οδυσσεῖ ἐπαίτη εἶναι δοκοῦντι “δίφρον ἀεικέλιον, φησί, καταθεὶς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν.”

Οἱ δὲ κρατῆρες αὐτοῖς, ὡσπερ ἔχει καὶ τοῦνομα, κεκραμένοι παρεστήκεσσαν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ κοῦροι διακονούμενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐντιμοτάτοις ἀεὶ πλῆρες παρεῖχον τὸ ποτήριον, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου διένεμον. ὁ γοῦν Ἀγαμέμνων πρὸς τὸν Ἰδομενέα φησί·

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σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἰεὶ

ἔστηχ’ ὡσπερ ἐμοί, πιέειν δτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι.

¹ After ὡς A (not C) has τοῦ Ἐφαίστου καὶ, bracketed by Kaibel but καὶ is needed

² After θρήσασθαι A has δὲ, deleted by Musurus

symposia of the philosophers, he will find it more decorous, though it includes mirth and joking, but in good taste. For after the gymnastic contest the minstrel sings^a “of the amours of Ares,” a story full of satire, while it gives hints to Odysseus for the slaughter of the suitors, in that even the Lame-footed^b could overcome in a contest the most valiant Ares.

The men of those days also sat when they dined. Homer, at any rate, says^c in many places, “They sat them down in order, upon chairs and thrones.” Now the throne, taken by itself alone, is the chair of a man of high birth; it has a footstool, which they called *thrénys*, and they formed the word “throne” from the verb *thró*, which they use of sitting down, as Philitas^d: “To sit (*thrán*) beneath the lush plane-tree” The chair (*klismos*), on the other hand, is provided more sumptuously with an inclined back. Poorer than either of these was the stool (*diphros*); in the case of Odysseus, anyway, coming in the guise of a beggar, the poet says^e that Telemachus “placed before him a mean stool and a small table.”

Their mixing-bowls, as indeed the name implies, stood before them filled with diluted wine; from these the young men who served offered the drinking-cup, which in the case of the most highly honoured was always full; while to the others they distributed the wine in equal portions. Agamemnon, at any rate, says to Idomeneus^f. “But thy cup stands ever full, even as mine, to quaff whenever thy heart

^a *Od.* viii. 267.

^b Hephaestus.

^c *Od.* i 145.

^d *Frag.* 22 Diehl

^e *Od* xx. 259.

^f *Il* iv. 262.

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προέπινον δ' ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς (τοῦτο γὰρ προεκπιεῖν ἔστιν), ἀλλὰ μεστὸν τὸν σκύφον.

πλησάμενος δ' οἶνοι δέπας δείδεκτ² Ἀχιλῆα.

δσάκις δὲ καὶ τροφὰς ἐλάμβανον, προειρήκαμεν
ἡδη ὅτι δὴ τρεῖς ἥσαν διὰ τὸ τὸ αὐτό ποτε μὲν
ἀριστον, ποτὲ δὲ δεῖπνον ὄνομάζεσθαι. γελοῖοι
γάρ εἰσιν οἱ φάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ τέσσαρας ἐλάμ-
βανον ἐπεὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη “σὺ δ' ἔρχεο δειελιήσας,”
οὐ νοοῦντες ὅτι λέγει τὸν δειλινὸν διατρύψας
b χρόνον. ὅμως δὲ οὐδεὶς δείξει παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ
τρίς τινα λαμβάνοντα τροφάς. διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ
πολλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐφεξῆς τιθέντες τούτους
τοὺς στίχους.

σῖτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
εἴδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων.
δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν ὀείρας

εὶ γὰρ εἴδατα παρέθηκεν ἡ ταμίη, δῆλον ὡς
κρεάτων λεύψανα τυγχάνοντα, τὸν δαιτρὸν οὐκ
ἔδει παρεισφέρειν διόπερ τὸ δίστιχον ἀπαρκεῖ
ἀπαλλαγέντων δὲ τῶν δειπνούντων αἱ τράπεζαι
ἐβαστάζοντο, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς μνηστήρσι καὶ
τοῖς Φαίαξιν, ἐφ' ὃν καὶ λέγει·

c ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἀπεκόσμεον ἔντεα δαιτός,

δῆλον ὡς τὰ ἀγγεῖα. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων τὰ
σκεπαστικά, θώρακα καὶ κυνημῖδας καὶ τὰ τούτοις
ἐμφερῆ λέγουσιν ἔντη, καθάπερ ἀγγεῖα¹ τῶν τοῦ

¹ ἀγγεῖα Dindorf (cf Apoll Soph 69 17): αἰτια A

“ So that they sipped, but did not drain ; Il. ix. 224.

^b 11 b ff.

bids thee." They toasted one another not as we do—for our method in a toast is to drain to the dregs—but with the cup full^a. "And filling the cup with wine he pledged Achilles." How many times a day they took meals has already been explained^b; we said that there were three (and not four), because the same meal is sometimes called luncheon, sometimes dinner. Those who assert that they took four meals merely because the poet said^c: "Thou hast come after taking the afternoon meal" are absurd; they do not observe that he means "after waiting through the afternoon." Nevertheless, nobody will ever point to an instance in Homer where anyone takes food three times in the day. Many indeed are mistaken when they place the following verses in sequence in the poet's text^d: "The grave housekeeper brought food and set it beside them, adding many viands which she lavished from her store And the carver lifted and set beside them platters of meat." Now if the housekeeper set "viands" beside them, it is plain that they must have been chance bits of meat left over, and there would be no need to introduce a carver. Hence the two verses are sufficient alone. When the diners had departed the tables were carried away, as in the case of the suitors and the Phaeacians, of whom the poet says^e. "And the handmaids cleared away the implements (*entea*) of the feast," meaning the vessels. For all implements which afford a covering, like breastplates, greaves, and things similar to them, they call *entea*, being as it were vessels to

^a *Od.* xvii. 599; the verb δειελιάω occurs only here. Some said it meant "take an afternoon meal", others "wait till evening" ^d *Od* iv 55 ^e *Od* vii. 232.

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σώματος μερῶν ὅντα. τῶν δὲ ἡρωικῶν οἴκων τοὺς μείζονας Ὅμηρος μέγαρα καλεῖ καὶ δώματα καὶ κλισίας, οἱ δὲ νῦν ξενῶνας καὶ ἀνδρῶνας ὀνομάζουσι.¹

Τί οὖν ὀνομάσομεν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ συμ-
d πόσιον ὅπερ Ἀντίοχος² δὲ Ἐπιφανῆς μὲν κληθείσ,
Ἐπιμανῆς δὲ ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὀνομασθείσ; βασιλεὺς
δὲ ἦν οὗτος τῶν Συριακῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου
εῖς· περὶ οὐ φησι Πολύβιος τάδε, ὡς “ἀποδιδρά-
σκων ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐνίστε τοὺς θεραπεύοντας οὐ
τύχοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλύων³ ἐφαίνετο δεύτερος καὶ
τρίτος· μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀργυροκοπείοις
εὑρίσκετο καὶ χρυσοχοείοις εὑρησιλογῶν καὶ φιλο-
τεχνῶν πρὸς τοὺς τορευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
τεχνίτας ἔπειτα καὶ μετὰ δημοτῶν ἀνθρώπων
συγκαταβαίνων ὥμιλει ὡς τύχοι καὶ μετὰ τῶν
e παρεπιδημούντων συνέπιε τῶν εὐτελεστάτων. ὅτε
δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων αἰσθοιτό τινας συνευωχουμένους,
οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν ποιήσας παρῆν ἐπικωμάζων
μετὰ κερατίου⁴ καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς
διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀφισταμένους φεύγειν. πολ-
λάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐσθῆτα
τήβενναν ἀναλαβὼν περιήρει κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν
ἀρχαιρεσιάζων καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούμενος, τοὺς

¹ ὀνομάζουσι Casaubon νομίζουσι A

² ἐποίησεν ορ συνήγαγεν supplied by Schweighauser

³ ἀλύων Casaubon (cf. Diod xxix 32). αὐτῶν A.

⁴ κερατίου Diodorus κεραμείου A

^a Apparently the etymologist connects ἔντεα, Homeric word for “arms,” “implements,” with ἐντός, “inside”

^b as though from μέγα, “large.”

^c Cf. “lean-to,” of a cabin

^d See critical note.

^e Cf. 45 c, 124 e.

^f xxvi 10.

hold inside them the corresponding parts of the body.^a The larger rooms in the dwellings of the heroes Homer calls *megara*,^b also *dōmata* ("buildings") and *klisiae* ("huts");^c but men of to-day call them "guest-rooms" and "men's halls."

What, then, dear friends, shall we call the symposium which was given^d by Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes ("Illustrious"), but because of his acts renamed Epimanes ("Insane")?^e He was king of Syria, and one of the Seleucidae. Concerning him Polybius says^f this: "He would sometimes slip out of the palace without the knowledge of his attendants, and would appear wandering about in some quarter of the city with one or two companions; usually he was found near the shops of the silversmiths and goldsmiths talking glibly, and airing his views on art before the workmen engaged in making reliefs as well as before other artisans. Then he would condescend to men of the common people and converse with anybody, no matter whom, and he used to drink with travellers of the meanest sort who came to town. Whenever he learned that any young men were feasting together, he would appear without any announcement to join in the revel with hornpipe and symphony^g: the result was that most of the party got up and fled at the unexpected apparition. And often he would lay aside his royal robes, and putting on a toga he would walk up and down the market-place^h as though he were canvassing for votes; with some he shook

^a An unknown instrument, in Prudentius the word refers to the Egyptian sistrum, an instrument used in orgiastic worship, something like the triangle of a modern orchestra.

^b or "forum."

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δὲ καὶ περιπτύσσων παρεκάλει φέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀγορανόμος γένηται, ποτὲ δὲ ¹ καὶ ὡς δήμαρχος. τυχὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον κατὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος διήκουε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν γυνομένων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ διέκρινε μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἥγε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφελῆ τινα αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ μαινόμενον. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἦν 194 παραπλήσιος· ἐδίδου γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἀστραγάλους δορκαδείους, τοῖς δὲ φοινικοβαλάνους, ἄλλοις δὲ χρυσίον. καὶ ἐξ ἀπαντήσεως δέ τισι συντυγχάνων οὓς μὴ ἔωράκει ποτὲ ἐδίδου δωρεὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις εὐνοίαις¹ καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις τεκμήραιτο ἐκ τε τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ὀλυμπιείου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν ἀνδριάντων. ἐλούετο δὲ κάν τοῖς δημοσίοις βαλανείοις ὅτε δημοτῶν ἦν τὰ βαλανεῖα πεπληρωμένα, κεραμίων εἰσφερομένων αὐτῷ μύρων τῶν πολυτελεστάτων. ὅτε καὶ τινος εἰπόντος “μακάριοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ καὶ τούτοις χρώμενοι καὶ ὁδωδότες ἥδυ,” μηδὲν² τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν προσειπὼν ὅπου ἕκεīνος τῇ ἔξῆς ἐλούετο ἐπεισελθὼν ἐποίησεν αὐτοῦ καταχυθῆναι τῆς κεφαλῆς μέγιστον κεράμιον πολυτελεστάτου μύρου τῆς στακτῆς καλουμένης, ὡς πάντας ἀναστάντας κυλίεσθαι λογομένους τῷ

¹ εὐνοίαις Lumb: εὐεργεσίαις Kaibel θυσίαις A.

hands, while others he embraced and invited to cast their vote for him, sometimes for the office of aedile, sometimes for that of tribune of the people. And having won the office, he would seat himself on the ivory^a chair, according to the Roman custom ; he would hear cases involving contracts in the market, and would give decisions with great earnestness and zeal. As a result he would reduce decent men to perplexity ; for some supposed that he was just an artless person, while others thought him mad. And he was like that also in giving presents ; for to some he would give dice made from antelopes' bones, to others dates, to others again money in gold. On occasion, also, meeting persons whom he had never seen, he would give them unexpected presents. In benefactions to cities and in honours paid to the gods he outdid all who had ever been kings before him. One might draw this conclusion merely from the Olympieum at Athens and the statues round the altar in Delos. He used also to bathe in the public baths when the baths were crowded with common people, having jars of the most costly scented oils brought in for his use. On one occasion a man said to him, "Happy are you kings, who can use these perfumes and smell so sweet ! " Without answering the fellow he came in next day where the man was bathing, and caused a very large jar of most costly scented oil, the kind which is called *stacta*,^b to be poured over the man's head ; the result was that all, after standing up, rolled about

^a or "curule."

^b Oil that "trickles" (without pressing) from fresh myrrh or cinnamon , cf 691 d.

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μύρω καὶ διὰ τὴν γλισχρότητα καταπίπτοντας
ε γέλωτα παρέχειν, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα ”
‘Ο δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ
Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένους ἄγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰ-
μιλίου Παύλου τοῦ ‘Ρωμαιών στρατηγοῦ, βουλό-
μενος τῇ μεγαλοεργίᾳ¹ ὑπεράραι τὸν Παῦλον ἔξ-
έπεμψε πρέσβεις καὶ θεωροὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις
καταγγελοῦντας τοὺς ἐσομένους ἄγῶνας ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ Δάφνης ὡς πολλὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ‘Ελλήνων
σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν. ἀρχὴν δ’ ἐποιή-
σατο τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πομπείαν οὕτως ἐπι-
τελεσθεῖσαν. καθηγοῦντό τινες ‘Ρωμαιοκόν ἔχοντες
καθοπλισμὸν ἐν θώραξιν ἀλυσιδωτοῖς, ἄνδρες
ἀκμάζοντες ταῖς ἥλικίαις πεντακισχίλιοι· μεθ’ οὓς
Μυσοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. συνεχεῖς δ’ ἦσαν Κιλικες
εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐζώνων τρόπον καθωπλισμένοι τρισ-
χίλιοι, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες στεφάνους ἐπὶ δὲ τού-
τοις Θρᾷκες τρισχίλιοι καὶ Γαλάται πεντακισχίλιοι
τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον Μακεδόνες δισμύριοι, χρυσάσπι-
δες μὲν μύριοι² καὶ χαλκάσπιδες πεντακισχίλιοι,
οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι³ ἀργυράσπιδες· οἵς ἐπηκολούθει μονο-
ε μάχων ζεύγη διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα τούτων
κατόπιν ἦσαν ἵππεῖς Νισαῖοι⁴ μὲν χίλιοι, πολιτικοὶ
δὲ τρισχίλιοι, ὃν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν χρυσο-
φάλαροι καὶ χρυσοστέφανοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀργυρο-
φάλαροι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι ἑταῖροι
ἵππεῖς· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εἰς χιλίους, πάντες χρυσο-
φάλαροι. τούτοις συνεχεῖς ἦν τὸ τῶν φίλων σύνταγμα,
ἴσον καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον.

¹ μεγαλοεργίᾳ CA (adding δωρεᾶ): μεγαλοδωρεᾶ Casaubon

² χρυσάσπιδες μὲν μύριοι added by Kaihel

³ οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Kaihel. ἄλλοι δὲ A.

bathed in the oil, and roused laughter by sprawling on the slippery floor, as even the king himself did."

This same king,^a hearing about the games instituted in Macedonia by Aemilius Paulus, the Roman general, and wishing to outdo Paulus in magnificence, dispatched envoys and delegates^b to the cities to proclaim the games which were to be given by him near Daphne; hence great interest arose on the part of the Greeks in meeting him. As a beginning to the meeting he got up a parade which was carried out in the following manner. It was led by certain men in the prime of their youth, five thousand in number, who wore Roman armour of chain-mail; after them came five thousand Mysians; close to these were three thousand Cilicians equipped in the fashion of light-armed troops, and wearing gold crowns. After these came three thousand Thracians and five thousand Celts. These were followed by twenty thousand Macedonians, ten thousand of them with gold shields, five thousand with bronze shields, and the rest with silver shields; close upon these came two hundred and forty pairs of gladiators. Behind them were one thousand Nisaean horsemen and three thousand citizen soldiers, of whom the majority wore gold cheek-coverings and gold crowns, the rest had cheek-coverings of silver. After them came the so-called "mounted companions"; there were about a thousand of these, all with gold cheek-pieces. Next to these was the division made up of his friends, equal in numbers and

^a Polybius, xxxi. 3. The citation extends to 195 f.

^b The word *θεωρός* always refers to a mission sent to represent a state at a sacred festival.

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ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐπίλεκτοι χῖλιοι, οἵς ἐπηκολούθει τὸ καλούμενον ἄγημα, κράτιστον εἶναι δοκοῦν σύστημα τῶν ἵππεων, περὶ χιλίους τελευταία δ' ἦν ἡ κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οἰκείως τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσκεπασμένων τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ χῖλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι πάντες δ' οἱ προειρημένοι εἶχον πορφυρᾶς ἐφαπτίδας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαχρύσους καὶ ζωωτάς ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἔξιππα μὲν ἦν ἑκατόν, τέθριππα δὲ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔπειτα ἐλέφαντων ἄρμα καὶ συνωρίς· 195 καθ' ἕνα δὲ εἴποντο ἐλέφαντες διεσκευασμένοι τριάκοντα καὶ ἔξ.

Τὴν δ' ἄλλην πομπὴν λέγειν ἐστὶ δυσέφικτον, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ λεκτέον ἔφηβοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπόμπευσαν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες στεφάνους, βόες δ' εὐτραφεῖς περὶ χιλίους, θεωρίδες¹ δὲ βραχὺ λείπουσαι τριακοσίων, ἐλεφάντων δὲ ὀδόντες ὀκτακόσιοι. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πλῆθος οὐ δυνατὸν ἔξηγήσασθαι· πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἡ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἡ δαιμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἥρωών εἰδωλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἡμφιεσμένα στολαῖς διαχρύσοις. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες μῆθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἴστορίας ἐν διασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι παρέκειντο. εἴπετο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Νυκτὸς εἰδωλον καὶ Ἡμέρας, Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ, καὶ Ἡοῦς καὶ Μεσημβρίας. τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος οὕτως ἄν τις

¹ θεωρίδες Casaubon θεωρία AC θεωρίαι ("religious delegations") Schweighauser

^a ἄγημα is an old military word meaning "division."

in beauty of equipment. After them were a thousand picked men, followed by the so-called *Agema* ("Guard"),^a which has the reputation of being the best organization of horsemen, numbering about a thousand. Last of all was the armoured cavalry, both horses and men being completely covered with armour in accordance with their name. They numbered alone one thousand five hundred. And all these mentioned wore purple cloaks, many also cloaks woven with gold and embroidered with figures. After them were a hundred chariots drawn by six horses, and forty drawn by four horses; next a chariot drawn by four elephants, and another by a pair of elephants; and in single file followed thirty-six caparisoned elephants.

It would be difficult to pursue the description of the rest of the procession, and it must be described summarily. Young men who had just come of age, to the number of eight hundred, and wearing gold crowns, marched in the line; fatted oxen, about one thousand; sacrificial tables,^b little short of three hundred; elephants' tusks, eight hundred. It is not possible to enumerate the quantity of sacred images; for statues of all beings who are said or held to be gods, demigods, or even heroes among mankind were borne along, some gilded, others draped in garments of gold thread. And beside all of them lay the sacred myths pertaining to each, according to the traditional accounts, in sumptuous editions. They were followed by representations of Night and Day, Earth and Heaven, and Dawn and Noon. One might guess how great was the number of gold and silver vessels in the following

^a See critical note.

ATHENAEUS

ὑπονοήσειεν ὅσον ἦν· ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν φίλων Διονυσίου
 τοῦ ἐπιστολιαγράφου¹ χῖλιοι παῖδες ἐπόμπευσαν
 ἀργυρώμata ἔχοντες, ὃν οὐδὲν ἐλάττον' ὀλκὴν
 εἶχεν δραχμῶν χιλίων. βασιλικοὶ δὲ παῖδες παρ-
 ἥλθον ἔξακόσιοι χρυσώμata ἔχοντες ἔπειτα γυ-
 ναικες ἐκ χρυσῶν καλπίδων μύροις ἔρραινον εἰς
 c διακοσίας. ταύταις δ' ἔξῆς ἐπόμπευσον ἐν χρυσό-
 ποσι μὲν φορείοις δύρδοήκοντα γυναικες, ἐν² ἀργυρό-
 ποσι δὲ πεντακόσιαι καθήμεναι, πολυτελῶς δι-
 εσκευασμέναι. καὶ τῆς μὲν πομπῆς τὰ ἐπιφανέ-
 στατα ταῦτα ἦν. ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγύνων
 καὶ μονομαχῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων κατὰ τριάκονθ³
 ἡμέρας· ἐν αἷς τὰς θέας συνετέλει, πέντε μὲν τὰς
 πρώτας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντες ἐκ χρυσῶν ὀλκείων
 d ἡλείφοντο κροκίνῳ μύρῳ. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα πεντεκαί-
 δεκα, καὶ κινναμωμίνου τὰ ἵσα καὶ ναρδίνου.
 παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἔξῆς εἰσεφέρετο τήλινον,
 ἀμαράκινον, ἕρινον, πάντα διαφέροντα ταῖς εὐ-
 ωδίαις. ἔστρωτο δὲ εἰς εὐώχιαν ποτὲ μὲν χῖλια
 τρίκλινα, ποτὲ δὲ χῖλια πεντακόσια μετὰ τῆς
 πολυτελεστάτης διασκευῆς. ὁ δὲ χειρισμὸς ἐγί-
 νετο τῶν πραγμάτων δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἵππον γὰρ ἔχων εὔτελή παρέτρεχε παρὰ τὴν
 πομπήν, τοὺς μὲν προάγειν κελεύων, τοὺς δὲ
 e ἐπέχειν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πότους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς
 εἰσόδους ἐφιστάμενος οὓς μὲν εἰσῆγεν,³ οὓς δ'
 ἀνέκλινε, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους δὲ τοὺς τὰς παρα-
 θέσεις φέροντας αὐτὸς εἰσῆγε. καὶ περιπορεύμενος
 οὖ μὲν προσεκάθιζεν, οὐ δὲ προσανέπιπτε· καὶ

¹ ἐπιστολιαγράφου Schweighauser: ἐπιστελαγράφου A

² ἐν added by Meineke

³ εἰσῆγεν 439 c · εἰσῆγαγε A. διέταττεν Diod xxxi 16 2.

way : of only one of the king's friends, the secretary Dionysius, one thousand slaves marched in the procession carrying silver vessels, none of which weighed less than a thousand drachms.^a Then came six hundred royal slaves with gold vessels. After them nearly two hundred women sprinkled scented oil from gold pitchers. Close upon these in the procession were eighty women seated in litters having gold supports, and five hundred in litters with silver supports, all richly dressed. These were the most conspicuous features of the parade. The games, gladiatorial contests, and hunts took thirty days to conclude ; during the first five days in which spectacles were carried out, all persons in the gymnasium anointed themselves with saffron oil from golden basins ; these numbered fifteen, and there was an equal number of bowls with oil of cinnamon and nard. Similarly there were brought in, on the succeeding days, oil of fenugreek, marjoram, and orris, all of them rare in their fragrance. For a banquet on one occasion there were spread a thousand triclinia, on another fifteen hundred, with the most extravagant deckings. The management of these matters was undertaken by the king himself. Riding on a poor horse, he ran up and down the procession, commanding one division to advance, another to halt. At the symposia he stood at the entrance introducing some, assigning couches to others, and he himself brought in the servants who carried in the dishes served. And going round he would seat himself in one place, or throw himself down in another.

^a About 11½ pounds

ATHENAEUS

ποτε μὲν ἀποθέμενος μεταξὺ τὸν ψωμόν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ποτήριον, ἀνεπήδα καὶ μετανίστατο καὶ περιήει τὸν πότον προπόσεις λαμβάνων ὄρθος ἄλλοτε παρ' ἄλλοις, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων.

f προιούστης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ πολλῶν ἥδη κεχωρισμένων ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρετο ὅλος συγκεκαλυμμένος¹ καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο ὡς εἰς ὃν δῆτα τῶν μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀναπηδήσας γυμνὸς² ὥρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν, ὥστε πάντας αἰσχυνομένους φεύγειν ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη ἐξ ὃν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίσατο παρασπονδήσας τὸν Φιλομήτορα βασιλέα παιδίσκον ὅντα, τὰ³ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων συμβαλλομένων. Ἱεροσυλήκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἱερῶν.

Θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν δαιτυμόνων τὴν τε τοῦ
 196 βασιλέως διάνοιαν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιφανῆς, ἀλλ' ὅντως ἐπιμανῆς ὑπῆρχε,⁴ . . . προσέθηκεν δὲ Μασούριος περὶ τῆς ἐν ἸΑλεξανδρείᾳ γεγενημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως πομπῆς Καλλίξεινον τὸν Ῥόδιον ἴστοροῦντα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ ἸΑλεξανδρείας, ὃς φησι· “πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὴν κατασκευασθεῖσαν σκηνὴν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀκρας περιβόλῳ χωρὶς τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν καὶ παρεπιδήμων ὑποδοχῆς”

¹ συγκεκαλυμμένος 439 d: κεκαλυμμένος A

² γυμνὸς added from Diodorus.

³ τὰ added by Musurus.

⁴ Either *τε* in the first line of the paragraph should be deleted, or, assuming the lacuna, we should supply something like *καὶ τὴν τῆς πανηγύρεως μεγαλειότητα* (Meyer), “the magnificence of the celebration.”

At one moment he would throw aside a morsel or a cup just as he had put them to his lips, and jumping up suddenly, he would change his place or walk round among the drinkers, receiving toasts standing sometimes by one, sometimes by another, at the same time laughing at the entertainments. When the party had been going on a long time and many had already withdrawn, the king was brought in by the mime-performers entirely wrapped up, and deposited on the ground as though he were one of the performers. When the symphony ^a sounded the challenge, he would leap up and dance naked and act with the clowns, so that every one departed in shame. All these celebrations were paid for partly from funds which he had appropriated in Egypt when he broke his treaty with King Ptolemy Philometor, who was then a lad, and partly from contributions by his friends. He had also plundered most of the temples.

The guests ^b expressed their wonder at the state of the king's mind, judging that he was not illustrious, but really insane;^c . . . Masurius then added an account of the procession which was arranged in Alexandria by the most excellent king Ptolemy Philadelphus; this is recorded by Callixeinus of Rhodes in the fourth book of his work on Alexandria. He says ^d: "Before I begin I will describe the pavilion which was set up inside the enclosure of the citadel, at a distance from the place where the soldiers, artisans, and tourists were entertained.

^a For the musical instrument thus named see 193 e, note g.

^b At the dinner of Larensis.

^c Cf. 193 d, note. See critical note.

^d F.H.G. iii. 58.

ATHENAEUS

εξηγήσομαι· καλὴ γὰρ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀξία τε
 b ἀκοῆς ἔγενήθη. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος αὐτῆς ἐκατὸν
 τριάκοντα κλίνας ἐπιδεχόμενον κύκλῳ, διασκευὴν
 δ' εἶχε¹ τοιαύτην. κίονες διεστάθησαν² ξύλινοι
 πέντε μὲν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκάστην τοῦ μήκους
 πεντηκονταπήχεις πρὸς ὑψος, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐλάττους κατὰ
 πλάτος· ἐφ' ὧν ἐπιστύλιον καθηρμόσθη τετράγωνον,
 ὑπερεῖδον τὴν σύμπασαν τοῦ συμποσίου στέγην.
 aὕτη δ' ἐνεπετάσθη κατὰ μέσον οὐρανίσκῳ κοκκινο-
 βαφεῖ περιλεύκῳ, καθ' ἐκάτερον δὲ μέρος εἶχε
 δοκοὺς μεσολεύκοις ἐμπετάσμασι πυργωτοῖς κατ-
 c ειλημένας,³ ἐν αἷς φατνώματα γραπτὰ κατὰ μέσον
 ἐτέτακτο. τῶν δὲ κιόνων οἱ μὲν τέσσαρες ὡμοί-
 ωντο φοίνιξ, οἱ δ' ἀνὰ μέσον θύρσων εἶχον
 φαντασίαν. τούτων δ' ἕκτὸς περίστυλος ἐπεποίητο
 σύριγξ ταῖς τρισὶ πλευραῖς καμαρωτὴν ἔχουσα
 στέγην, ἐν ἥ τὴν τῶν κατακειμένων ἀκολουθίαν
 ἐστάναι συνέβαινεν. ἦς τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐλαίας
 d περιείχετο φουικίναις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνὰ μέσον
 χωρῶν δοραὶ θηρίων παράδοξοι καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ
 καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἐκρέμαντο. τὸ δὲ περιέχον
 αὐτὴν ὑπαιθρὸν μυρρίναις καὶ δάφναις ἄλλοις τε
 ἐπιτηδείοις ἔρνεσιν ἐγεγόνει συνηρεφέσ. τὸ δ'
 ἔδαφος πᾶν ἀνθεσι κατεπέπαστο παντοίοις. ἡ γὰρ
 Aἴγυπτος καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος
 εὐκρασίαν καὶ διὰ τοὺς κηπεύοντας τὰ σπανίως
 καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἐνεστηκυῖαν ἐν ἐτέροις φυόμενα
 τόποις ἄφθονα γεννᾷ καὶ διὰ παντός, καὶ οὔτε

¹ δ' εἶχε Schweighauser: δὲ ἔχει A.

² διεστάθησαν Musurus. δ' ἐστάθησαν A

³ κατειλημένας Schweighauser: κατειλημένας A

For it proved to be extraordinarily beautiful and well worth hearing about. As for its size, it could hold one hundred and thirty couches in a circle, and its decoration was as follows. Wooden columns were set up at regular intervals, five on each long side, rising fifty cubits in height, but four on each of the other sides ^a; upon these was fitted a square epistyle which held up the entire roof sheltering the symposium. This roof was draped with a circular canopy in scarlet edged with white, covering the middle of it; while on either side it had beams concealed by tapestries with white stripes draped voluminously ^b about them; between the beams were painted panels set in order. Of the columns four ^c were shaped like palm-trees, but those which stood in the middle had the appearance of Bacchic wands. Outside the columns, on three sides, was a portico with a peristyle, having a vaulted roof, and here the retinues of the guests could stand. Inside, the pavilion was surrounded with Phoenician ^d curtains, except that the spaces between columns were hung with the pelts of animals, extraordinary in variety and in size. The outer side of the enclosing curtains, exposed to the air, was roofed with branches of myrtle and laurel and other boughs that were suitable. The floor was entirely strewn with all sorts of flowers. For Egypt, both because of the temperate quality of its atmosphere, and also because its gardeners can grow plants which are either rare or found only at a regular season in other regions, produces flowers in abundance and throughout the whole year,

^a lit. "five on each side of longitude—but one less according to latitude."

^b lit. "tower-fashion."

^c Those at the corners.

^d or, "red."

ATHENAEUS

ρόδον οὕτε λευκόιον οὕτ' ἄλλο ράδίως ἄνθος ἐκ-
λιπεῖν οὐθὲν οὐδέποτ' εἴωθεν. διὸ δὴ καὶ κατὰ
μέσον χειμῶνα τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τότε γενηθείσης
ε παράδοξος ἡ φαντασία¹ τοῦς ξένοις κατέστη. τὰ
γάρ εἰς μίαν εὑρεθῆναι στεφάνωσιν οὐκ ἀν δυνη-
θέντα ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ράδίως, ταῦτα καὶ τῷ πλήθει
τῶν κατακειμένων ἔχορηγεῖτο² εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους
ἀφθόνως καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κατεπέ-
παστο χύδην, θείου τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποτελοῦντα
λειμῶνος πρόσοψιν. διέκειτο δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν τῆς
σκηνῆς παραστάδων ζῶα μαρμάρινα τῶν πρώτων
τεχνιτῶν ἔκατόν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀνὰ μέσον χώραις
πίνακες τῶν Σικυωνικῶν ζωγράφων, ἐναλλὰξ δ'
ἐπίλεκτοι εἰκασίαι παντοῖαι³ καὶ χιτῶνες χρυσο-
f υφεῖς ἔφαπτίδες τε κάλλισται, τινὲς μὲν εἰκόνας
ἔχουσαι τῶν βασιλέων ἐνυφασμένας, αἱ δὲ μυθικὰς
διαθέσεις. ὑπεράνω δὲ τούτων θυρεοὶ περιέκειντο
ἐναλλὰξ ἀργυροῖ τε καὶ χρυσοῖ.⁴ ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπάνω
τούτων χώραις οὖσαις ὀκταπήχεσιν ἄντρα κατ-
εσκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν τὸ μῆκος τῆς σκηνῆς ἔξ ἐν
ἔκατέρᾳ πλευρᾶ, κατὰ πλάτος δὲ τέτταρα συμπόσιά
τε ἀντία ἀλλήλων ἐν⁵ αὐτοῖς τραγικῶν τε καὶ
197 κωμικῶν καὶ σατυρικῶν ζῷων ἀληθινὸν ἔχόντων
ἱματισμόν, οἷς παρέκειτο καὶ ποτήρια χρυσᾶ.
κατὰ μέσον δὲ τῶν ἄντρων νύμφαι ἐλείφθησαν, ἐν

¹ A second τότε after φαντασία deleted by Schweighauser

² ἔχορηγεῖτο A ἔκεχορήγητο Meineke

³ παντοῖαι Schweighauser. παντοῖοι A

⁴ ἀργυροῖ . χρυσοῖ Casaubon: ἀργυραι . χρυσαι A

⁵ ἐν added by Casaubon.

^a παραστάδες are terminal piers, Lat. *antae*.

^b There were three chief schools, Helladic, Asiatic, and

Sicyonian, the last headed by Eupompos (Pliny, xxxv. 10. 36).

and it is not easy, as a rule, for the rose or the wall-flower or any other flower to fail entirely. Therefore, since the entertainment which was given at that time took place in the middle of winter, the scene which presented itself to the eyes of the guests passed belief. For flowers which, in any other city, could have been found only with difficulty to make up a single wreath, were lavished without stint in a wealth of wreaths upon the multitude of reclining guests, and, moreover, lay scattered profusely on the floor of the pavilion, truly presenting the picture of an extraordinarily beautiful meadow. At the columns^a which supported the pavilion were placed marble figures, a hundred in all, the work of the foremost artists. In the intercolumniations were paintings by artists of the Sicyonian school,^b alternating with a great variety of selected portraits; also there were tunics of cloth of gold and most beautiful military cloaks, some having portraits of the kings woven in them, others depicting subjects taken from mythology. Above these oblong shields were hung all round, alternately of silver and of gold. And in the spaces above these again, each measuring eight cubits, recesses were constructed, six on each of the longer sides of the pavilion, and four on the narrower sides^c; and in these recesses were representations of drinking-parties arranged to face one another, composed of figures taken from tragedy, comedy, and satyric drama, wearing real clothing, and beside them lay cups of gold. In the spaces between the recesses were left niches,^d

^a For *μῆκος* and *πλάτος*, “longitudinal” and “latitudinal,” see 196 b, note.

^b This meaning of *νύμφη* apparently occurs only here, but there is no reason, with Kaibel, to suspect it.

ATHENAEUS

αῖς ἔκειντο Δελφικοὶ χρυσοῖ τρίποδες ὑποστήματ³
 ἔχοντες. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὑψηλότατον τόπον τῆς
 ὁροφῆς ἀετοὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἥσαν ἀλλήλων χρυσοῖ,
 πεντεκαιδεκαπήχεις τὸ μέγεθος. ἔκειντο δὲ κλῖναι
 χρυσαῖ σφιγγόποδες ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ πλευραῖς ἐκατόν·
 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀψίς¹ ἀφεῖτ² ἀναπεπταμένη.
 b ταύταις δὲ ἀμφίταποι ἀλουργεῖς ὑπέστρωντο τῆς
 πρώτης ἐρέας, καὶ περιστρώματα ποικίλα διαπρεπῆ
 ταῖς τέχναις ἐπῆν. ψιλαὶ δὲ Περσικαὶ τὴν ἀνά
 μέσον τῶν ποδῶν χώραν ἐκάλυπτον, ἀκριβῆ τὴν
 εὐγραμμίαν τῶν ἐνυφασμένων ἔχουσαι ζῳδίων.
 παρετέθησαν δὲ καὶ τρίποδες τοῖς κατακειμένοις
 χρυσοῖ διακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅστ³ εἶναι δύο κατὰ
 κλίνην, ἐπ' ἀργυρῶν διεδρων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὅπισθεν
 πρὸς τὴν ἀπόνυψιν² ἐκατὸν ἀργυραῖ λεκάναι καὶ
 c καταχύσεις ἵσαι παρέκειντο. ἐπεπήγει δὲ τοῦ
 συμποσίου καταντικρὺ καὶ ἑτέρα κλίνη πρὸς τὴν
 τῶν κυλίκων καὶ ποτηρίων τῶν τε λοιπῶν τῶν
 πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν ἀνηκόντων³ κατασκευασμάτων
 ἔκθεσιν· ἂ δὴ πάντα χρυσᾶ τε ἦν καὶ διάλιθα,
 θαυμαστὰ ταῖς τέχναις. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν κατὰ
 μέρος κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰ γένη μακρὸν ἐπεφαίνετο
 μοι δηλοῦν· τὸ δὲ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πλῆθος εἰς μύρια
 τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τὴν σύμπασαν εἶχε κατασκευὴν.
 ‘Ημεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν διεληλύ-
 θαμεν, ποιησόμεθα καὶ τὴν τῆς πομπῆς ἐξήγησιν.
 γῆγετο γὰρ διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν σταδίου.

¹ ἀψίς Wilamowitz: δψίς A.

² ἀπόνυψιν Rohde: ἀπόψιν A.

³ καὶ after ἀνηκόντων deleted by Casaubon.

^a Of silver (ὑποστήματ³ ἀργυρᾶ)? So Meineke.

in which were set up Delphic tripods of gold, with supports beneath.^a Along the topmost space in the ceiling gold eagles faced each other, fifteen cubits in length. On the two sides^b were set a hundred gold couches with feet shaped like Sphinxes; for the apse facing the entrance was left open. On the couches were spread purple rugs made of wool of the first quality, with pile on both sides; and over them were counterpanes embroidered with exquisite art Smooth^c Persian carpets covered the space in the middle trodden by the feet, having beautiful designs of figures woven in them with minute skill. Beside the guests, as they reclined, were set three-legged tables of gold, two hundred in number, making two to each couch; they were set upon silver rests. Behind them, ready for the hand-washing, were a hundred silver basins and the same number of pitchers. In full sight of the company was built another couch also for the display of the goblets and cups and all the rest of the utensils appropriate to use on the occasion, all of these were of gold and studded with gems, wonderful in their workmanship. Now it clearly appeared to me that it would be tedious to explain the materials and styles of all these vessels; but the weight of them all, taken together in a single mass, was about ten thousand silver talents^d

"Since we have described the pavilion and its contents, we will now give an account of the procession. It was held in the city^e stadium. At

^b Of the pavilion.

^c This word (*ψάλι*, "smooth") is used as a substantive in late Greek, meaning "carpets."

^d Nearly three hundred tons.

^e Alexandria.

ATHENAEUS

δι πρώτη δ' ἐβάδιζεν ἡ¹ Ἐωσφόρου· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴν
 εἶχεν ἡ πομπὴ καθ' ὃν ὁ προειρημένος ἀστὴρ
 φαίνεται χρόνον. ἔπειθ² ἡ τοῦς τῶν βασιλέων
 γονεῦσι κατωνομασμένη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας αἱ
 τῶν θεῶν ἀπάντων, οἰκείαν ἔχουσαι τῆς περὶ
 ἔκαστον³ αὐτῶν ἴστορίας διασκευήν. τὴν δὲ τελευ-
 ταίαν Ἐσπέρου συνέβαινεν εἶναι, τῆς ὥρας εἰς
 τοῦτο⁴ συναγούσης τὸν καιρόν. τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος
 αὐτῶν εἴ τις εἰδέναι βούλεται, τὰς τῶν πεντ-
 ε ετηρίδων γραφὰς λαμβάνων ἐπισκοπείτω. τῆς δὲ
 Διονυσιακῆς πομπῆς πρῶτοι μὲν προήσαν οἱ τὸν
 ὄχλον ἀνείργοντες Σιληνοί, πορφυρᾶς χλαμύδας,
 οἱ δὲ φοινικίδας ἡμφιεσμένοι. τούτοις δ' ἐπηκο-
 λούθουν Σάτυροι καθ' ἔκαστον τοῦ σταδίου μέρος
 εἴκοσι, λαμπάδας φέροντες κισσίνας⁵ διαχρύσους.
 μεθ' οὓς Νῖκαι χρυσᾶς ἔχουσαι πτέρυγας. ἔφερον
 δ' αὗται θυμιατήρια ἔξαπτήχη κισσίνοις διαχρύσους
 κλωσὶ⁶ διακεκοσμημένα, ζωωτοὺς ἐνδεδυκύναι
 χιτῶνας, αὗται δὲ πολὺν κόσμον χρυσοῦν περι-
 f κείμεναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας εἴπετο βωμὸς ἔξαπτηχυς
 διπλοῦς κισσίνη φυλλάδι διαχρύσῳ πεπυκασμένος,
 ἔχων ἀμπέλινον χρυσοῦν στέφανον μεσολεύκοις
 μίτραις διειλημμένον. ἐπηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ
 παῖδες ἐν χιτῶσι πορφυροῖς, λιβανωτὸν καὶ
 σμύρναν, ἔτι δὲ κρόκον ἐπὶ χρυσῶν μαζονόμων
 φέροντες ἔκατὸν εἴκοσι μεθ' οὓς Σάτυροι τεσ-
 σαράκοντα ἐστεφανωμένοι κισσίνοις χρυσοῖς στε-

¹ ἡ added by Kaibel. ² ἔκαστον Wilamowitz. ἐκάστων A.

³ τοῦτο A · τοῦτον Kaibel

⁴ Perhaps a mistake; cf. λαμπάδες διάχρυσοι 198 f

⁵ κλωσὶ Adam καιωσὶ A .

^a Venus

^b Ptolemy Philadelphus married his sister Arsinoe (F.H.G.

the head marched the ‘division of the Morning Star’^a because the procession began at the time that star appears. Then came that part of the procession which was named from the parents of the king and queen.^b After these came the divisions named from all the gods, having decorative symbols appropriate to the story of each divinity. The last division, as it happened, was that of the Evening Star, since the season of the year brought the time consumed by the procession down to that point.^c If anyone wishes to learn the details, let him take and study the records of the quadrennial games. In the Dionysiac procession, there marched at the head Sileni who kept back the crowds ; they were dressed in purple riding-cloaks, some in red. These were closely followed by Satyrs, twenty at each end of the stadium, carrying torches ornamented with gilt ivy-leaves.^d After these came Victories with gold wings. These carried censers nine feet high, ornamented with gilt ivy-sprays ; the women had on embroidered tunics, and their persons were covered with much gold jewelry. After them followed a double altar nine feet long, ornamented in high relief with gilt ivy-foliage, and having a gold crown of grape-leaves twined with striped white ribbons. Following this came one hundred and twenty boys in purple tunics, carrying frankincense and myrrh, and, moreover, saffron upon gold trenchers. After them marched forty Satyrs crowned with gold

ii 534, Athen. 621 a). Their parents were Ptolemy Soter and Berenice.

^a i.e. it was the middle of winter, and the parade lasted from the morning to the evening star. The expression is clumsy, but not incorrect. See critical note.

^b See critical note.

φάνοις· τὰ δὲ σώματα οἱ μὲν ἐκέχριντο ὁστρείω,
 198 τινὲς δὲ μῆλτῷ καὶ χρώμασιν ἔτεροις. ἔφερον
 δὲ καὶ οὗτοι στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐξ ἀμπέλου καὶ
 κισσοῦ εἰργασμένον. μεθ' οὓς Σιληνοὶ δύο ἐν
 πορφυρᾶς χλαμύσι καὶ κρηπῖσι λευκαῖς. εἶχε
 δ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πέτασον καὶ κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν,
 ὁ δὲ σάλπιγγα. μέσος δὲ τούτων ἐβάδιζεν ἀνὴρ
 μείζων ἦ¹ τετράπηχος ἐν τραγικῇ διαθέσει καὶ
 προσώπῳ, φέρων χρυσοῦν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας· ὃς
 προσηγορεύετο Ἐνιαυτός. Ὡ γυνὴ περικαλλε-
 στάτη καὶ ἵση² κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος εἴπετο πολλῷ
 ὅ χρυσῷ καὶ διαπρεπεῖ χιτῶνι³ κεκοσμημένη,
 φέρουσα τῇ μὲν μιᾷ τῶν χειρῶν στέφανον περ-
 σέας,⁴ τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ ράβδον φοίνικος· ἐκαλεῖτο
 δὲ αὐτῇ Πεντετηρίς. ταύτῃ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν
 Ὡραι αἵ⁵ τέσσαρες διεσκευασμέναι καὶ ἐκάστη
 φέρουσα τοὺς ἴδιους καρπούς. ἔχόμενα τούτων
 θυμιατήρια δύο κίσσινα ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἐξαπήχη καὶ
 βωμὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων τετράγωνος χρυσοῦ.
 καὶ πάλιν Σάτυροι στεφάνους ἔχοντες κισσίνους
 χρυσοῦς, φοινικίδας περιβεβλημένοι. ἔφερον δὲ
 οἱ μὲν οἰνοχόην χρυσῆν, οἱ δὲ καρχήσιον. μεθ'
 οὓς ἐπορεύετο Φιλίσκος ὁ ποιητὴς ἱερεὺς ὃν
 c Διονύσου καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῦται.
 τούτων δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐφέροντο Δελφικοὶ τρίποδες,
 ἀθλα τοῖς τῶν ἀθλητῶν χορηγοῖς, ὁ μὲν παιδικὸς⁶
 ἐννέα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ πηχῶν δώδεκα ὁ τῶν

¹ ἦ added by Kaibel.² καὶ ἵση added by Meyer.³ χιτῶνι added by Meyer.⁴ περσέας C περσαῖς A.⁵ αἱ added by Kaibel⁶ παιδικὸς Kaibel (παιδίσκων Schweigkäuser matching ἀνδρῶν) · παιδίσκος A.

crowns in ivy pattern ; their bodies were smeared in some cases with purple, in others with vermillion and other colours. These also wore a gold crown wrought in grape and ivy patterns. After them came two Sileni in purple riding-cloaks and white shoes. One of them wore a broad-brimmed hat and held a herald's staff of gold, the other carried a trumpet. Between these walked a man over six feet tall, in tragic costume and mask, carrying a gold horn of plenty , he was called 'The Year.' He was followed by a very beautiful woman as tall as he, dressed in a striking tunic and adorned with much gold, and carrying in one hand a crown of persea,^a in the other a palm-branch ; she was called 'Lustrum'^b She was closely followed by the four Seasons gaily dressed and each carrying the fruits appropriate to her. Next these were two censers, nine feet tall, ornamented with ivy pattern in gold ; also a square altar between them, of gold. Again came Satyrs wearing gold ivy-crowns and clad in red tunics ; some carried a gold wine-pitcher, others a gold goblet. After them marched the poet Philiscus, who was a priest of Dionysus, and all the guild of the artists of Dionysus.^c Next were borne Delphic tripods, being prizes for the managers of the athletes ; the one intended for the manager of the boys' class was thirteen and a half feet high, the other, for the manager of the adults' class, was eighteen feet.

^a An Egyptian plant (*Mimusops Schimperi*, Hort).

^b A πεντετηρίς, here rendered 'lustrum,' was a period of four years, or a festival held once in that period.

^c The "artists of Dionysus" was a later name for actors.

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ἀνδρῶν μετὰ τούτους τετράκυκλος πηχῶν τεσ-
σαρεσκαῖδεκα, ὀκτὼ δὲ τὸ πλάτος, ἦγετο ὑπὸ¹
ἀνδρῶν ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης
ἐπῆν ἄγαλμα Διονύσου δεκάπηχυ σπένδον ἔκ
καρχησίου χρυσοῦ, χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ἔχον διά-
πεζον καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κροκωτὸν διαφανῆ· περι-
εβέβλητο δὲ ἴμάτιον πορφυροῦν χρυσοποίκιλον.
Διπρόέκειτο δὲ αὐτοῦ κρατὴρ Λακωνικὸς χρυσοῦς
μετρητῶν δεκαπέντε καὶ τρίπους χρυσοῦς, ἐφ’
οὗ θυμιατήριον χρυσοῦν καὶ φιάλαι δύο χρυσαῖ,
κασίας² μεσταὶ καὶ κρόκου. περιέκειτο δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ σκιὰς ἐκ κισσοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς
ὅπωρας κεκοσμημένη, προσήρτητο δὲ καὶ στέ-
φανοι καὶ ταινίαι καὶ θύρσοι καὶ τύμπανα καὶ
μίτραι πρόσωπά τε σατυρικὰ καὶ κωμικὰ καὶ
ετραγικά. τῇ δὲ τετρακύκλῳ . . .³ ἱερεῖς καὶ
ἱέρειαι καὶ ἱεροστολισταὶ⁴ καὶ θίασοι παντοδαποὶ
καὶ τὰ λίκνα φέρουσαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μακέται
αἱ καλούμεναι Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Βασσάραι καὶ
Λυδαί, κατακεχυμέναι τὰς τρίχας καὶ ἐστεφανω-
μέναι τινὲς μὲν ὄφεσιν, αἱ δὲ μίλακι⁵ καὶ ἀμπέλῳ
καὶ κισσῷ κατεῖχον δὲ τὰς χερσὶν αἱ μὲν ἐγ-
χειρίδια, αἱ δὲ ὄφεις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἦγετο
τετράκυκλος πηχῶν ὀκτὼ πλάτος ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν
έξηκοντα, ἐφ’ ἃς ἄγαλμα Νύσης ὀκτάπηχυ καθή-
μενον, ἐνδεδυκὸς μὲν θάψινον χιτῶνα χρυσοποίκιλον,

¹ κασίας 201 a : κασσίας AC.

² ἐπηκολούθουν or εἴποντο to be supplied (Schweighauser).

³ ιεροστολισταὶ Rohde · περσειστελεταὶ A. Schweighauser's
πέρυσι τελεσταὶ, "last year's initiates," is palaeographically
more attractive

⁴ μίλακι Kaihel : μίλαξι AC.

After these came a four-wheeled cart, twenty-one feet long and twelve feet wide, drawn by one hundred and eighty men ; in this stood a statue of Dionysus, fifteen feet tall, pouring a libation from a gold goblet, and wearing a purple tunic extending to the feet, over which was a transparent saffron coat ; but round his shoulders was thrown a purple mantle spangled with gold. In front of him lay a gold Laconian mixing-bowl holding one hundred and fifty gallons^a ; also a gold tripod, on which lay a gold censer and two saucers of gold full of cassia and saffron. Over him stretched a canopy decorated with ivy, grape-vine, and the other cultivated fruits, and hanging to it also were wreaths, ribbons, Bacchic wands, tambourines, fillets, and satyric, comic, and tragic masks. The cart (was followed) by priests and priestesses and those who had charge of the sacred vestments,^b sacred guilds^c of every description, and women carrying the winnowing-fans.^d Next came Macedonian bacchants, the so-called 'Mimallones,' and 'Bassarae' and 'Lydian women,'^e with hair streaming down and crowned with wreaths, some of snakes, others of smilax and vine-leaves and ivy ; in their hands some held daggers, others snakes. After these women came a four-wheeled cart twelve feet wide and drawn by sixty men, in which was seated an image of Nysa, twelve feet high ; she had on a yellow tunic with gold spangles, and was

^a Fifteen times the capacity of an Athenian amphora (*μετρητής*) or ordinary wine-jar. Though the Macedonian *μετρητής* was smaller, the figures here given are based on the Athenian, in order to avoid fractions.

^b See crit. note.

^c See 186 a, note a.

^d The *mystica vannus Iacchi*.

^e All names of female devotees of Dionysus.

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ἱμάτιον δὲ ἡμφίεστο Λακωνικόν. ἀνίστατο δὲ¹ τοῦτο μηχανικῶς οὐδενὸς τὰς χεῖρας προσάγοντος καὶ σπεῦσαν ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης γάλα πάλιν ἐκάθητο. εἶχε δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ θύρσον ἐστεμμένον μήτραις. αὕτη δ' ἐστεφάνωτο κισσίνῳ χρυσῷ καὶ βότρυσι διαλίθοις πολυτελέσιν. εἶχε δὲ σκιάδα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γωνιῶν τῆς τετρακύκλου κατεπεπήγεσαν 199 λαμπάδες διάχρυσοι τέτταρες. ἔξῆς εἴλκετο ἄλλη τετράκυκλος μῆκος πηχῶν εἴκοσι,² πλάτος ἐκκαΐδεκα, ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων ἐφ' ἣς κατεσκεύαστο ληνὸς πηχῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων, πλάτος πεντεκαΐδεκα, πλήρης σταφυλῆς. ἐπάτουν δὲ ἔξήκοντα Σάτυροι πρὸς αὐλὸν ἅδοντες μέλος ἐπιλήνιον, ἐφειστήκει δ' αὐτοῖς Σιληνός. καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ὅδοῦ τὸ γλεῦκος ἔρρει ἔξῆς ἐφέρετο τετράκυκλος μῆκος πηχῶν εἴκοσι πέντε, πλάτος τεσσαρεσκαΐδεκα, ἥγετο δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἔξακοσίων. ἐφ' ἣς ἦν ἀσκὸς τρισχιλίους ἔχων μετρητάς, ἐκ τοῦ παρδαλῶν³ ἐρραμμένος ἔρρει δὲ καὶ οὗτος κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνιέμενος κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὅδον. ἥκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ Σάτυροι καὶ Σιληνοὶ ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι ἐστεφανωμένοι, φέροντες οἱ μὲν οἰνοχόας, οἱ δὲ φιάλας, οἱ δὲ θηρικλείους μεγάλας, πάντα χρυσᾶ. ἔχόμενος ἥγετο κρατήρα ἀργυροῦς ἔξακοσίους χωρῶν μετρητὰς ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου ἐλκομένης ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἔξακοσίων. εἶχε δὲ ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη καὶ τὰ ὠτα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν βάσιν ζῷα τετορευμένα σκαρπέα καὶ διὰ μέσου ἐστεφάνωτο στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ

¹ δὲ Schweighauser: δὴ AC.

² Another number, not less than πέντε, has been lost, since the length of the cart here given is less than that of the wine-press.

wrapped in a Laconian shawl. Moreover, this image could rise up automatically without anyone putting his hands to it, and after pouring a libation of milk from a gold saucer it would sit down again. It held in the left hand a Bacchic wand bound with fillets. Moreover, Nysa wore a crown of gold ivy-leaf and very rich grape-clusters of jewels. She also had a canopy, and at the corners of the cart were fastened four torches with gold bands. Next there followed another four-wheeler, thirty^a feet long, twenty-four feet wide, drawn by three hundred men ; in this was set up a wine-press thirty-six feet long, twenty-two and a half feet wide, full of grapes. And sixty Satyrs trod them while they sang a vintage song to the accompaniment of pipes, and a Silenus superintended them. The new wine streamed through the whole line of march. Next came a four-wheeled cart thirty-seven and a half feet long, twenty-one feet wide, and drawn by six hundred men, in it was a wine skin holding thirty thousand gallons, stitched together from leopard pelts ; this also trickled over the whole line of march as the wine was slowly let out. Following the skin came a hundred and twenty crowned Satyrs and Sileni, some carrying wine-pitchers, others shallow cups, still others large deep cups—everything of gold. Immediately next to them passed a silver mixing-bowl holding six thousand gallons, in a cart drawn by six hundred men. It bore, beneath the brim and handles and under the base, figures of beaten metal, and round the middle ran a gold band, like a wreath, studded

• ^a See critical note.

³ After παρδαλῶν AC have the gloss δερμάτων, deleted by Meineke

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διαλίθω. ἔξῆς ἐφέρετο κυλικεῖα ἀργυρᾶ δωδεκά-
πήχη δύο, ὅψος πηχῶν ἔξ· ταῦτα δ' εἶχεν ἄνω
τε ἀκρωτήρια καὶ ἐν ταῖς γάστραις κύκλῳ καὶ
ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν ζῷα τριημιπήχη¹ καὶ πηχναῖα
πλήθει πολλά. καὶ λουτῆρες μεγάλοι δέκα καὶ
κρατῆρες ἑκκαΐδεκα, ὧν οἱ μείζους ἔχωρουν
μετρητὰς τριάκοντα, οἱ δ' ἐλάχιστοι πέντε. εἴτα
λέβητες βαλανωτοὶ² εἴκοσι τέσσαρες ἐπ' ἐγγυθήκαις
πάντες³ καὶ ληνοὶ ἀργυρᾶ δύο, ἐφ' ὧν ἦσαν βῖκοι
d εἴκοσι τέσσαρες, τράπεζά τε ὀλάργυρος δωδεκά-
πηχνς καὶ ἄλλαι ἔξαπήχεις τριάκοντα. πρὸς δὲ
τούτοις τρίποδες τέσσαρες, ὧν εἰς μὲν εἶχε τὴν
περίμετρον πηχῶν ἑκκαΐδεκα, κατάργυρος ὧν
ὅλος, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐλάττονες ὅντες διάλιθοι κατὰ
μέσον ὑπῆρχον. μετὰ τούτους ἐφέροντο Δελ-
φικοὶ τρίποδες ἀργυροῦ ὁγδοήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν,
ἐλάττους τῶν προειρημένων, ὧν αἱ γωνίαι . . . ,
τετραμέτρητοι,⁴ ὑδρίαι εἴκοσι καὶ ἔξ, ἀμφορεῖς
Παναθηναϊκοὶ δεκαέξ, ψυκτῆρες ἑκατὸν ἔξηκοντα·
e τούτων ὁ μέγιστος ἦν μετρητῶν ἔξ, ὁ δὲ ἐλάχιστος
δύο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦν ἀπαντα ἀργυρᾶ.

'Εχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐπόμπευον οἱ τὰ χρυσώ-
ματα φέροντες, κρατῆρας Λακωνικοὺς τέτταρας
ἔχοντας στεφάνους ἀμπελίνους . . . τετραμέτρη-
τοι⁵ ἔτεροι, Κορινθιούργεῖς δύο—οὗτοι δ' εἶχον

¹ τριημιπήχη Schweighauser: τρία ἡμιπήχη A

² ἔξ before βαλανωτοὶ deleted by Kaibel, cf 210 a. βαλα-
νωτοὶ O. Jahn, cf. 502 a. βανωτοὶ A.

³ πάντες Kaibel: πέντε A.

⁴ τετραμέτρητοι Meineke: τετράμετροι A. The lacuna may
have read ζῷα εἶχον τετορευμένα (Dobree), “and they had
figures of beaten metal.”

with jewels. Next were carried two silver stands for drinking-cups, eighteen feet long and nine feet in height ; these had end-ornaments on top, and on the swelling sides all round as well as on the legs were carved figures, many in number, two and three feet high. And there were ten large basins and sixteen mixing-bowls, the larger of which held three hundred gallons, while the smallest held fifty. Then there were twenty-four cauldrons ornamented with an acorn boss, all of them on stands ; and two silver wine-presses, on which were twenty-four jars, a table of solid silver eighteen feet long, and thirty more tables nine feet long. Added to these were four tripods, one of which had a circumference of twenty-four feet, plated throughout with silver, while the other three, which were smaller, were studded with jewels in the centre. After these were borne along Delphic tripods of silver, eighty in number, but smaller than those just mentioned ; at their corners (were figures in beaten metal ^a), and the tripods had a capacity of forty gallons. There were twenty-six water-jars, sixteen Panathenaic amphoras, one hundred and sixty wine-coolers ; of these the largest contained sixty gallons, the smallest twenty. All these vessels were of silver.

“ Next to these in the procession came those who carried the gold utensils, four Laconian mixing-bowls with bands of vine-leaves . . .^a others with a capacity of forty gallons ; and two of Corinthian workmanship, on stands ; these had on the brim

^a See critical note.

^b τετραμέτρητοι A : τετραμετρήτους Schweighauser But several words have been lost

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άνωθεν καθήμενα περιφανῆ τετορευμένα ζῷα καὶ
ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς γάστραις πρόσ-
τυπα ἐπιμελῶς πεποιημένα· ἔχώρει δὲ ἕκαστος
μετρητὰς ὀκτώ—ἐπ’ ἔγγυθήκαις καὶ ληνός, ἐν
f ἦν ἡσαν βῖκοι δέκα, ὀλκεῖα δύο, ἑκάτερον χωροῦν
μετρητὰς πέντε, κώθωνες¹ διμέτρητοι δύο, ψυκτή-
ρες εἴκοσι δύο, ὅν ὁ μέγιστος ἔχώρει μετρητὰς
τριάκοντα, ὁ δὲ ἐλάχιστος μετρητήν ἐπόμπευσαν
δὲ τρίποδες χρυσοῖ μεγάλοι τέτταρες καὶ χρυσω-
ματοθήκη χρυσῆ διάλιθος πηχῶν δέκα ὕψος,
ἔχουσα βασμοὺς ἔξ, ἐν οἷς καὶ ζῷα τετραπάλαιστα
ἐπιμελῶς πεποιημένα, πολλὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ
κυλικεῖα δύο καὶ ὑάλινα διάχρυσα δύο· ἔγγυθήκαι
200 χρυσαῖ τετραπήχεις δύο, ἄλλαι ἐλάττους τρεῖς,
ὑδρίαι δέκα, βωμὸς τρίπηχυς, μαζονόμια εἴκοσι
πέντε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο παῖδες χίλιοι
καὶ ἔξακόσιοι ἐνδεδυκότες χιτῶνας λευκούς, ἐστε-
φανωμένοι οἱ μὲν κισσῷ, οἱ δὲ πίτυι· ὅν διακόσιοι
μὲν καὶ πεντήκοντα χοεῖς εἶχον χρυσοῦς, τετρα-
κόσιοι δὲ ἀργυροῦς, ἔτεροι δὲ τριακόσιοι καὶ
εἴκοσι ψυκτήρια ἔφερον χρυσᾶ, οἱ δὲ ἀργυρᾶ.
μεθ’ οὓς ἄλλοι παῖδες ἔφερον κεράμια πρὸς τὴν
τοῦ γλυκισμοῦ χρείαν, ὅν εἴκοσι μὲν ἦν χρυσᾶ,
πεντήκοντα δὲ ἀργυρᾶ, τριακόσια δὲ κεκηρο-
b γραφημένα χρώμασι παντοίοις. καὶ κερασθέντων
ἐν ταῖς ὑδρίαις καὶ πίθοις πάντες κοσμίως ἐγλυ-
κάνθησαν οἱ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ”

‘Ἐξῆς τούτοις καταλέγει τετραπήχεις τραπέζας
ἐφ’ ὅν πολλὰ θέας ἀξια πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένα

¹ κώθωνες 483 f: κωθῶναι Α

seated figures in beaten metal, very striking ; and on the neck and round the bowl were figures in relief, carefully fashioned , the capacity of each was eighty gallons. There was also a press containing ten wine-jars, two basins, each holding fifty gallons, two drinking-cups holding twenty gallons, twenty-two wine-coolers : of these the largest held three hundred gallons, the smallest ten Four large gold tripods were carried in the procession ; and there was a gold chest for gold vessels, studded with jewels and having a height of fifteen feet, with six shelves, on which stood a great number of figures carefully fashioned, four spans high ; there were also two stands for cups, and two glass vessels studded with jewels ; two gold stands six feet high, beside three smaller ones, ten water-jars, an altar four and a half feet high, and twenty-five bread-plates. After all this there marched one thousand six hundred boys who had on white tunics and wore crowns, some of ivy, others of pine ; two hundred and fifty of them carried gold pitchers, four hundred, silver pitchers ; while another band of three hundred and twenty bore gold or silver wine-coolers. After them other boys carried jars intended to be used for sweetmeats ; twenty of these were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred were adorned with encaustic paintings in all sorts of colours. And since the mixtures had already been made in the water-jars and casks, all persons in the stadium were duly showered with sweetness.”

Next to these in his ^a catalogue were six-foot tables on which were borne remarkable scenes lavishly re-

^a Callixenus, 196 a.

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περιήγετο θεάματα. ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ τῆς Σεμέλης θάλαμος, ἐν ᾧ ἔχουσι χιτῶνας τινὲς διαχρύσους καὶ λιθοκολλήτους τῶν πολυτιμήτων. οὐκ ἄξιον δ' ἦν παραλιπεῖν τήνδε “τὴν τετράκυκλον, μῆκος οὖσαν πηχῶν εἴκοσι δύο, πλάτος δεκατεσσάρων, σὺνπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἑλκομένην πεντακοσίων· ἐφ' ἦς ἄντρον ἦν βαθὺ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν κισσῷ καὶ μίλῳ. ἐκ τούτου περιστερὰὶ καὶ φάσσαι καὶ τρυγόνες καθ' ὅλην ἔξιπταντο τὴν ὁδόν, λημνίσκοις τοὺς πόδας δεδεμέναι πρὸς τὸ ῥάδίως ὑπὸ τῶν θεωμένων ἀρπάζεσθαι. ἀνέβλυζον δὲ ἔξι αὐτοῦ καὶ κρουνοὶ δύο, ὁ μὲν γάλακτος, ὁ δὲ οἶνου. πᾶσαι δ' αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν Νύμφαι στεφάνους εἶχον χρυσοῦς, ὁ δὲ Ἐρμῆς καὶ κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν, ἐσθῆτας δὲ πολυτελεῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλης τετρακύκλου, ἣ περιεῖχε τὴν ἔξι Ἰνδῶν κάθοδον Διονύσου, Διόνυσος ἦν δωδεκάπηχος ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος κατακείμενος, ἡμφιεσμένος πορφυρίδα καὶ στέφανον κισσοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλου χρυσοῦν ἔχων· εἶχε δ' ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ θυρσόλογχον χρυσοῦν, ὑπεδέδετο δ' ἐμβάδας χρυσορραφεῖς¹ προεκάθητο δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τραχῆλῳ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος Σατυρίσκος πεντάπηχος ἐστέφανωμένος πίτυος στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ, τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἀνγείῳ κέρατι χρυσῷ σημαίνων. ὁ δὲ ἐλέφας σκευὴν εἶχε χρυσῆν καὶ περὶ τῷ τραχῆλῳ εἰς κίσσινον χρυσοῦν στέφανον. ἡκολούθουν δὲ τούτω παιδίσκαι πεντακόσιαι κεκοσμημέναι χιτῶσι πορφυροῖς, χρυσῷ διεζωσμέναι. ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ αἱ μὲν ἡγούμεναι ἕκατὸν εἴκοσι χρυσοῖς πιτυνοῖς στεφάνοις, ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐταῖς Σάτυροι ἕκατὸν

¹ χρυσορραφεῖς Wilamowitz: χρυσογραφεῖς AC

presented ^a Among these was included the bridal chamber of Semele, in which certain characters wear tunics of gold bejewelled with the costliest gems And it would not be right to omit the following mention of "the four-wheeled cart, in length thirty-three feet, in width twenty-one, drawn by five hundred men ; in it was a deep cavern profusely shaded with ivy and yew. From this pigeons, ring-doves, and turtle-doves flew forth along the whole route, with nooses tied to their feet so that they could be easily caught by the spectators. And from it also gushed forth two fountains, one of milk, the other of wine. And all the nymphs standing round him ^b wore crowns of gold, and Hermes had a staff of gold, and all in rich garments. In another cart, which contained 'the return of Dionysus from India,' there was a Dionysus measuring eighteen feet who reclined upon an elephant's back, clad in a purple coat and wearing a gold crown, of ivy and vine pattern ; he held in his hands a gold wand-lance, and his feet were shod with shoes fastened by gold straps. Seated in front of him on the elephant's neck was a Satyr measuring seven and a half feet, crowned with a gold pine-wreath, his right hand holding a goat-horn of gold, as though he were signalling with it. The elephant had trappings of gold and round its neck an ivy-crown in gold. This cart was followed by five hundred young girls dressed in purple tunics with gold girdles. Those who were in the lead, numbering one hundred and twenty, wore gold pine-crowns ; following them

^a Probably like the "krippen" or "crèches" shown at Christmas on the Continent to-day.

^b Probably the infant Dionysus.

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εἴκοσι, πανοπλίας οἱ μὲν χρυσᾶς, οἱ δὲ¹ ἀργυρᾶς,
οἱ δὲ χαλκᾶς ἔχοντες. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐπορεύοντο
ὄνων ἵλαι πέντε, ἐφ' ὃν ἦσαν Σιληνοὶ καὶ Σάτυροι
ἔστεφανωμένοι. τῶν δὲ ὄνων οἱ μὲν χρυσᾶς,
οἱ δὲ ἀργυρᾶς προμετωπίδας καὶ σκευασίας εἶχον.
μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐλεφάντων ἄρματα ἀφείθη εἴκοσι
τέτταρα καὶ συνωρίδες τράγων ἔξήκοντα, κόλων²
δεκαδύο, ὁρύγων ἑπτά, βουβάλων δεκαπέντε,
στρουθῶν συνωρίδες ὀκτώ, ὄνελάφων ἑπτά, καὶ
συνωρίδες δ' ὄνων ἀγρίων, ἄρματα τέσσαρα.
ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων τούτων ἀνεβεβήκει παιδάρια
χιτῶνας ἔχοντα ἡνιοχικοὺς καὶ πετάσους. παρ-
ανεβεβήκει δὲ παιδισκάρια διεσκευασμένα πελτα-
ρίοις καὶ θυρσολόγχοις, κεκοσμημένα ἴματίοις καὶ
χρυσίοις.³ ἔστεφάνωτο δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡνιοχοῦντα
παιδάρια πίτι, τὰ δὲ παιδισκάρια κισσῷ ἐπῆσαν
δὲ καὶ συνωρίδες καμῆλων ἔξ,⁴ ἔξ ἑκατέρου
μέρους τρεῖς· αἷς ἐπηκολούθουν ἀπῆναι ύφ'
ἡμιόνων ἀγόμεναι. αὗται δ' εἶχον σκηνὰς βαρ-
βαρικάς, ύφ' ὃν⁵ ἐκάθηντο γυναῖκες Ἰνδαὶ καὶ
ἔτεραι κεκοσμημέναι ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι. κάμηλοι
δ' αἱ μὲν ἔφερον λιβανωτοῦ μνᾶς τριακοσίας,
σμύρνης τριακοσίας, κρόκου καὶ κασίας καὶ
κινναμώμου καὶ ἵριδος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρωμάτων
διακοσίας. ἔχόμενοι τούτων ἦσαν Αἰθίοπες δωρο-
φόροι, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἔφερον ὀδόντας ἔξακοσίους,
ἔτεροι δὲ ἐβένου κορμοὺς δισχιλίους, ἄλλοι χρυσίου⁶
καὶ ἀργυρίου κρατήρας ἔξήκοντα καὶ ψήγματα

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¹ χρυσᾶς, οἱ δὲ added by Kaihel.

² κόλων Gesner: κώλων A.

came one hundred and twenty Satyrs, some in gold, some in silver, and some in bronze panoply. After them marched five troops of asses on which were mounted Sileni and Satyrs wearing crowns. Some of the asses had frontlets^a and harness of gold, others, of silver. After them were sent forth twenty-four elephant chariots, sixty teams of he-goats, twelve of short-horns,^b seven of gazelles, fifteen of hartbeestes, eight teams of ostriches, seven of antelopes, four teams of wild asses, and four four-horse chariots. On all of these were mounted little boys wearing the tunics and wide-brimmed hats of charioteers, and beside them stood little girls equipped with small crescent shields and wand-lances, dressed in robes and decked with gold coins^b. The lads driving the chariots wore pine crowns, the girls wore ivy. Next after them came six teams of camels, three on either side. These were immediately followed by carts drawn by mules. These contained barbaric tents, under which sat Indian and other women dressed as captives. Then came camels, some of which carried three hundred pounds of frankincense, three hundred of myrrh, and two hundred of saffron, cassia, cinnamon, orris, and all other spices. Next to these were negro tribute-bearers, some of whom brought six hundred tusks, others two thousand ebony logs, others sixty mixing-bowls full of gold and silver coins and gold dust.

^a Star-shaped ornaments on the forehead.

^b See critical note.

³ καὶ χρυσοῖς Α : διαχρύσοις ("robes of gold thread") Meineke. • ⁴ εξ added by Kaibel.

⁵ νφ' ὁν Meineke: ἐφ' ὁν AC.

⁶ χρυσίου Kaibel: χρυσοῦ A, χρυσέους C.

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ῳ χρυσοῦ.¹ μεθ' οὖς ἐπόμπευσαν κυνηγοὶ β'² ἔχοντες σιβύνας ἐπιχρύσους. ἥγοντο δὲ καὶ κύνες δισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι, οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοί, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ Τρκανοὶ καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ ἑτέρων γενῶν. ἔξῆς ἄνδρες ἕκατὸν πεντήκοντα φέροντες δένδρα, ἐξ ὧν ἀνήρτητο θηρία παντοδαπὰ καὶ ὅρνεα. εἰτ' ἐφέροντο ἐν ἀγγείοις ψιττακοὶ καὶ ταῷ³ καὶ μελεαγρίδες καὶ φασιανοὶ ὅρνιθες καὶ ἄλλοι Αἰθιοπικοί,⁴ πλήθει πολλοί.

Εἶπὼν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ καταλέξας ζώων ἀγέλας ἐπιφέρει. “πρόβατα Αἰθιοπικὰ ἕκατὸν τριάκοντα, Ἀράβια τριακόσια, Εὐβοϊκὰ εἴκοσι, καὶ ὀλόλευκοι⁵ βόες Ἰνδικοὶ εἴκοσι ἔξ, Αἰθιοπικοὶ ὀκτώ, ἄρκτος λευκὴ μεγάλη μία, παρδάλεις ιδ', πάνθηροι ιε', λυγκία δ', ἄρκηλοι γ', καμηλοπάρδαλις μία, ρινόκερως Αἰθιοπικὸς α'. ἔξῆς ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου Διόνυσος ἐπὶ⁶ τὸν τῆς Ρέας βωμὸν καταπεφευγώς ὅτε ὑπὸ Ἡρας ἐδιώκετο, στέφανον ἔχων χρυσοῦν, Πριάπου αὐτῷ παρεστῶτος ἐστεφανωμένου χρυσῷ κισσίνῳ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡρας ἄγαλμα στεφάνην εἶχε χρυσῆν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀγάλματα ἐστεφανωμένα στεφάνοις κισσίνοις ἐκ χρυσοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα τὸ παρεστὸς τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ στέφανον εἶχεν ἐλαῖας χρυσοῦν. καὶ Πρίαπος δ' αὐτοῖς συμπαρῆν ἔχων στέφανον κίσσινον ἐκ χρυσοῦ. Κόρινθος δ' ἡ πόλις παρεστῶσα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐστεφάνωτο διαδήματι

¹ χρυσοῦ Wilamowitz: χρυσίον A, cf. 233 d, 203 c.

² β' is far too small a number Was it „βυ (2400)?

³ ταῷ 387 d: ταοὶ AC.

⁴ φασιανοὶ δρυιθες καὶ ἄλλοι Αἰθιοπικοὶ A: φασιανοί, καὶ δρυιθες Αἰθιοπικοὶ 387 d.

⁵ καὶ ὀλόλευκοι Kaibel (following Dindorf): κολοιλευκοι A.

After these, in the procession, marched two ^a hunters carrying gilded hunting-spears. Dogs were also led along, numbering two thousand four hundred, some Indian, the others Hyrcanian or Molossian or of other breeds. Next came one hundred and fifty men carrying trees on which were suspended all sorts of animals and birds. Then were brought, in cages, parrots, peacocks, guinea-fowls, and birds from the Phasis ^b and others from Aethiopia, in great quantities."

After he has spoken of very many other things, and enumerated many droves of animals he adds : " One hundred and thirty Aethiopian sheep, three hundred Arabian, twenty Euboean ; also twenty-six Indian oxen entirely white, eight Aethiopian, one large white she-bear, fourteen leopards, sixteen panthers, four lynxes, three panther-cubs, one giraffe, one Aethiopian rhinoceros. Next in a four-wheeled cart was Dionysus at the altar of Rhea, having found refuge there while being pursued by Hera ; he had on a gold crown, and Priapus stood at his side, with a gold ivy-crown. The statue of Hera had a gold diadem. Then there were statues of Alexander and Ptolemy, crowned with ivy-crowns made of gold. The statue of Goodness which stood beside Ptolemy had a gold olive-crown. Priapus stood beside them also wearing an ivy-crown made of gold. The city of Corinth,^c standing beside Ptolemy, was crowned with a gold band.

^a See critical note.

^b i.e. " pheasants." See critical note.

^c Figures representing various Greek states are very common on reliefs.

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χρυσῷ. παρέκειντο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις κυλικεῖον μεστὸν χρυσωμάτων κρατήρ τε χρυσοῦς μετρητῶν πέντε. τῇ δὲ τετρακύκλῳ ταύτῃ ἡκολούθουν εγυναικεῖς ἔχουσαι ἴμάτια πολυτελῆ καὶ κόσμον· προσηγορεύοντο δὲ πόλεις, αἱ τε ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Ἑλληνίδες ὅσαι τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους κατοικοῦσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐτάχθησαν· ἐφόρουν δὲ πᾶσαι στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. ἐφέρετο καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων τετρακύκλων θύρσος ἐνενηκοντάπηχνος χρυσοῦς καὶ λόγχη ἀργυρᾶ ἐξηκοντάπηχνος καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ φαλλὸς χρυσοῦς πηχῶν ρκ' διαγεγραμμένος καὶ διαδεδεμένος στέμμασι διαχρύσοις, ἔχων ἐπ' ἄκρου ἀστέρα χρυσοῦν, οὗ ἦν ἡ περίμετρος πηχῶν 5^{':}.

Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ ποικίλων εἰρημένων ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ταύταις μόνα ἐξελεξάμεθα ἐν οἷς ἦν χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ γὰρ διαθέσεις πολλαὶ ἄκοῆς ἦσαν ἄξιαι καὶ θηρίων πλήθη καὶ ἵππων καὶ λέοντες παμμεγέθεις εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες. “ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τετράκυκλοι οὐ μόνον εἰκόνας βασιλέων φέρουσαι, ἄλλὰ καὶ θεῶν πολλαί. μεθ' ἂς χορὸς ἐπόμπευσεν ἄνδρῶν ἐξακοσίων· ἐν οἷς κιθαρίσται συνεφώνουν τριακόσιοι, ἐπιχρύσους ἔχοντες 202 ὅλας κιθάρας καὶ στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. μεθ' οὓς ταῦροι διῆλθον δισχίλιοι δόμοιο χρώματοι χρυσόκερω, προμετωπίδας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον στεφάνους ὅρμους τε καὶ αἰγίδας πρὸ τῶν στηθῶν ἔχοντες· ἦν δ' ἄπαντα ταῦτα χρυσᾶ. καὶ μετὰ

¹ *ai* added by Rohde. ²

^a By the authority quoted, Callixeinus, the pronoun in
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Beside all these figures were placed a stand for cups, full of gold vessels, and a gold mixing-bowl of fifty gallons capacity. Following this cart were women who wore very rich robes and ornaments ; they bore the names of cities, some from Ionia, while all the rest were the Greek cities which occupied Asia and the islands and had been under the rule of the Persians ; they all wore gold crowns. In other carts, also, were carried a Bacchic wand of gold, one hundred and thirty-five feet long, and a silver spear ninety feet long ; in another was a gold phallus one hundred and eighty feet long, painted in various colours and bound with fillets of gold ; it had at the extremity a gold star, the perimeter of which was nine feet.”

Many and varied though the things are which have been mentioned^a as belonging to these processions, yet I have selected for mention only those things which contained gold and silver. For there were numerous articles worth mentioning, and quantities of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four huge lions. “There were other carts besides, which carried images of kings and of gods as well, many of them. After them marched a choral band of six hundred men ; among them three hundred harp-players performed together, carrying harps gilded all over, and wearing gold crowns. After them two thousand steers, all of the same colour and with gilded horns, came by, having gold stars on their foreheads, wreaths between the horns, and necklaces and aegises on their breasts ; all these were of gold. And after this came marching in the

^athe next line refers to Athenaeus or his character Masurius, 196 a, though Muller takes it of Callixeinus.

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ταῦτα Διὸς ἥγετο πομπὴ καὶ ἄλλων παμπόλλων θεῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃς ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐλεφάντων ἀληθιῶν ἐφέρετο χρυσοῦς, Νίκην καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν ἔξι ἑκατέρου μέρους ἔχων. ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ θρόνοι πολλοὶ ἔξι ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ
 b κατεσκευασμένοι· ὃν ἐφ' ἐνὸς μὲν¹ ἔκειτο στέφανη χρυσῆ, ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ κέρας² χρυσοῦν, ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ ἦν στέφανος χρυσοῦς, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ κέρας ὀλόχρυσον. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος θρόνον στέφανος ἐπέκειτο ἐκ μυρίων κατεσκευασμένος χρυσῶν. ἐπόμπευσε δὲ καὶ θυμιατήρια χρυσᾶ τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ βωμοὶ δὲ³ ἐπίχρυσοι ἐστέφανωμένοι χρυσοῖς στέφάνοις· ὃν ἐνὶ παρεπεπήγεσαν δᾶδες χρυσαῖ δεκαπήχεις τέσσαρες. ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐσχάραι ἐπίχρυσοι β', ὃν ἡ μὲν δωδεκάπηχυς τῇ περιμέτρῳ, τεσσαρακοντάπηχυς ὕψει, ἡ δὲ πηχῶν πεντεκαΐδεκα.
 c ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ Δελφικοὶ τρίποδες χρυσοῖ ἐννέα ἐκ πηχῶν τεσσάρων, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ πηχῶν ἔξι, ἄλλοι πηχῶν τριάκοντα, ἐφ' οὖ ἦν ζῷα χρυσᾶ πενταπήχη καὶ στέφανος κύκλῳ χρυσοῦς ἀμπέλινος. παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ φούνικες ἐπίχρυσοι δέκαπήχεις ἐπτὰ καὶ κηρύκειον ἐπίχρυσον πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα πέντε καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐπίχρυσος πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα ναός τε ἐπίχρυσος, οὐ δέ τοις δέκαπήχυν. πολὺ δὲ καὶ ζώων πλῆθος ἐπιχρύσων συνεπόμπευεν, ὃν ἦν τὰ d πολλὰ δωδεκαπήχη· καὶ θηρία ὑπεράγοντα τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ ἀετοὶ πηχῶν εἴκοσι. στέφανοί τε

¹ ἐφ' ἐνὸς μὲν C: ἐφ' ἐνὸς A.

² δὲ κέρας early edd.: δικέρας A, κέρας C.

carnival a division in honour of Zeus and one of other gods in great number, and following all one devoted to Alexander, whose effigy in gold was borne, Victory and Athena on either side, in a chariot drawn by live^a elephants. In the procession also were many thrones constructed of ivory and gold ; on one of these lay a gold diadem, on another a gilded horn, on still another a gold crown, and on another a horn of solid gold. Upon the throne of Ptolemy Soter lay a crown made of ten thousand gold coins. In the procession also were three hundred and fifty gold censers, and gilded altars^b wreathed with gold crowns ; on one of these, four gold torches fifteen feet long were affixed. And two gilded braziers were also carried in the procession, of which one was eighteen feet in circumference and sixty in height, the other measured twenty-two and a half feet. There were also nine Delphic tripods of gold of six feet each, eight more of nine feet, another of forty-five feet ; on this were figures in gold seven and a half feet high, and a vine-wreath of gold encircled it. There went by also seven gilded palm-trees twelve feet high and a gilded herald's staff sixty-seven and a half feet long, a gilded thunderbolt sixty feet long, also a gilded temple measuring sixty feet all round ; there was a double horn in addition, twelve feet high. A very large number of gilded figures were in the procession, the most of which were eighteen feet high ; and there were figures of wild beasts of extraordinary size, and eagles thirty feet high.

^a In contradistinction to the gold effigy ! ^b See cr. note.

³ δέ A. δ' ("four") Schweighauser: δ' ε' ("and five") Meineke.

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χρυσοῖ ἐπόμπευσαν τρισχίλιοι διακόσιοι, ἔτερός τε μυστικὸς¹ χρυσοῦς λίθοις πολυτελέσι κεκοσμημένος ὄγδοηκοντάπηχυς οὗτος δὲ περιετίθετο τῷ τοῦ Βερενικείου θυρώματι· αἰγίς τε ὁμοίως χρυσῆ. ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ στεφάναι χρυσαῖ πάνυ πολλαῖ, ἃς ἔφερον παιδίσκαι πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημέναι· ὥν μία δίπηχυς εἰς ὑψος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον ἔχουσα ἐκκαΐδεκα πηχῶν. ἐπόμπευσε δὲ καὶ θώραξ ε χρυσοῦς πηχῶν δώδεκα καὶ ἔτερος ἀργυροῦς πηχῶν ιη',² ἔχων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεραυνοῦς χρυσοῦς δεκαπήχεις δύο καὶ στέφανον δρυὸς διάλιθον ἀσπίδες χρυσαῖ εἴκοσι, πανοπλίαι χρυσαῖ ἔδ', κυνημίδες χρυσαῖ τριπήχεις β', λεκάναι χρυσαῖ δεκαδύο, φιάλαι πολλαὶ πάνυ τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἰνοχόαι τριάκοντα, ἔξαλειπτρα³ μεγάλα δέκα, ὕδρίαι δεκαδύο, μαζονόμια πεντήκοντα, τράπεζαι διάφοροι, κυλικεῖα f χρυσωμάτων πέντε, κέρας ὀλόχρυσον πηχῶν λ'. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρυσώματα ἐκτὸς ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου πομπῇ διενεχθέντων εἴτ' ἀργυρωμάτων ἄμαξαι τετρακόσιαι καὶ χρυσωμάτων εἴκοσι, ἀρωμάτων δὲ ὀκτακόσιαι. ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐπόμπευσαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἵππικαι καὶ πεζικαί, πᾶσαι καθωπλισμέναι θαυμασίως. πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς πέντε 203 μυριάδας καὶ ἐπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἔξακοσίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι τρισχίλιοι διακόσιοι πάντες δ' οὗτοι ἐπόμπευσαν τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἐκάστῳ ἡμφιεσμένοι στολὴν καὶ τὰς προσηκούσας ἔχοντες πανοπλίας. ἐκτὸς δ' ὥν πάντες οὗτοι εἶχον πανοπλιῶν καὶ ἄλλαι πλεῖσται ἥσαν ἀποκείμεναι, ὥν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναγράψαι ράδιον.” κατ-

¹ μυστικὸς A : μύρτωος (?) Kaihel.

² ἐννέα after ιη' deleted by Musurus.

Three thousand two hundred gold crowns were shown in the procession, and there was another mystic ^a crown of gold one hundred and twenty feet in circumference, adorned with precious stones ; this was hung round the portal of Berenice's shrine ; there was similarly a gold aegis. And there were also very many gold diadems in the procession, carried by girls richly dressed ; one diadem was three feet high, and it had a perimeter of twenty-four feet. There was paraded also a gold breastplate eighteen feet in length, and another of silver, twenty-seven feet, with two gold thunderbolts on it fifteen feet long, and an oak crown of gold studded with jewels. Twenty gold shields, sixty-four suits of armour in gold, two pairs of gold greaves four and a half feet long, twelve gold hods, saucer-shaped cups in very great number, thirty wine-pitchers, ten large ointment-holders, twelve water-jars, fifty bread-platters, various tables, five stands of gold vessels, a horn of solid gold forty-five feet long. And these articles of gold were exclusive of those carried by in the division of Dionysus. Further, there were four hundred cartloads of silver vessels, twenty of gold vessels, and eight hundred of spices. After all these marched the cavalry and infantry forces, all wonderfully armed *cap-à-pie*. The infantry numbered about 57,600, the cavalry 23,200. All of these marched dressed in the garments proper to each, and in their appropriate panoply. But beside the panoplies worn by all these troops, there were very many others stored in chests, of which it is not easy to set down even the number." Yet Callixeinus

^a Or "myrtle" ; see critical note.

³ εξάλειπτρα Hemsterhuys έξ ἀλειπτρα A

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έλεξε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλίξεινος. “έστεφανώθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς εἴκοσι¹ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ Βερενίκη εἴκοσι² τρισὶν ἐφ' ἄρμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ δαπάνημα τοῦ³ νομίμου σματος τάλαντα δισχίλια διακόσια τριάκοντα ἐννέα, μνᾶι πεντήκοντα· καὶ ταῦτ' ἡριθμήθη πάντα τοῖς οἰκονόμοις διὰ τὴν τῶν στεφανούντων προθυμίαν πρὸ τοῦ τὰς θέας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ Φιλάδελφος Πτολεμαῖος υἱὸς αὐτῶν εἴκοσι⁴ χρυσαῖς δυσὶ μὲν ἐφ' ἄρμάτων χρυσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ κιόνων ἔξαπήχει μιᾷ, πενταπήχει πέντε, τετραπήχει πέξ.”

Ποίᾳ,⁴ ἄνδρες δαιτυμόνες, βασιλείᾳ οὕτως γέγονε πολύχρυσος; οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Βαβυλῶνος λαβοῦσα χρήματα ἢ μέταλλα ἐργασμένη ἢ Πακτωλὸν ἔχουσα χρυσοῦ⁵ ψῆγμα καταφέροντα. μόνος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ χρυσορόας καλούμενος Νεῦλος μετὰ τροφῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ χρυσὸν ἀκίβδηλον καταφέρει ἀκινδύνως γεωργούμενον, ὡς πᾶσιν ἔξαρκεῖν ἀνθρώποις, δίκην Τριπτολέμου πεμπόμενον εἰς πᾶσαν γῆν. διόπερ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Βυζάντιος ποιητὴς Παρμένων ἐπικαλούμενος “Αἴγυπτιε Ζεῦ, φησί, Νεῦλε.” πολ-

¹ εἴκοσι A : καὶ εἰκόσι Kaibel, “and with portrait-statues as well.”

² εἰκόσι Cobet: εἴκοσι A.

³ For τοῦ Kaibel conj. ἡμεδαποῦ or Ροδίου.

⁴ πολα A : πολα οὖν C.

⁵ χρυσοῦ Meyer: χρυσοῦν A ; cf. 233 d, 201 a, Herod. iv. 195.

^a Ptolemy Soter.

^b Or “in currency of our country” (Rhodes, Callixeinus being a Rhodian); see critical note.

gave the list. " And in the games twenty persons were crowned with gold crowns ; Ptolemy ^a was first, then Berenice, who were honoured with three portrait-statues in gold chariots, and with precincts at Dodona. The total expense, in currency,^b amounted to two thousand, two hundred and thirty-nine talents and fifty minas ^c, and all this sum was paid in to the managing officials before the exhibition was over, through the enthusiastic zeal of those who gave the crowns. And their son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, was awarded two gold portrait-statues, in gold chariots, mounted on columns, one of nine feet, five of seven and a half feet, and six of six feet."

What monarchy, fellow-banqueters, has ever been so rich in gold ? Surely not any that appropriated the wealth of Persia or Babylon, or that had mines to work, or that owned the Pactolus river, washing down gold-dust. No ; for it is only the Nile, the river truly called " gold-flowing," that with its boundless crops of food actually washes down unadulterated gold which is harvested with no risk, so that it can supply all men sufficiently ; ^d being, like Triptolemus, sent forth into every land. For this reason the Byzantian poet by the name of Parmenon says ^e " Thou Nile, Egypt's Zeus ! "

^a About £720,000.

^b The meaning is that the fertilizing waters of the Nile are the cause of crops which equal gold in value. The only river that was called " gold-flowing " before the time of Athenaeus seems to have been the river of Damascus. Hence it is not to the point to quote Gregory Nazianzen, who lived in the century after Athenaeus (*Or. xxl. 1116 Migne*) : ποιητοῦ δὲ ἦν ἄρα καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον εἰπεῖν τὸν χρυσορόδαν δύτως καὶ εὐσταχυν. Athenaeus merely says that it *should have been* so called.

^c Frag 3 Powell, cf. Athen. 221 a, 563 d

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λῶν δὲ ὁ Φιλάδελφος βασιλέων πλούτῳ διέφερε καὶ περὶ πάντα ἐσπουδάκει τὰ κατασκευάσματα ἀ φιλοτίμως, ὡστε καὶ πλοίων πλήθει πάντας ὑπερέβαλλεν τὰ γοῦν μέγιστα τῶν πλοίων ἥν παρ' αὐτῷ τριακοντήρεις δύο, εἰκοσήρης μία, τέσσαρες δὲ τρισκαιδεκήρεις, δωδεκήρεις δύο, ἑνδεκήρεις δεκατέσσαρες, ἐννήρεις λ', ἑπτήρεις λξ', ἔξηρεις ε', πεντήρεις δεκαεπτά· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τετρήρους μέχρι τριηρημιολίας διπλάσια τούτων. τὰ δ' εἰς τὰς νήσους πεμπόμενα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὥν ἥρχε καὶ τὴν Λιβύην πλείονα ἥν τῶν τετρακισχιλίων. περὶ δὲ βιβλίων πλήθους καὶ βιβλιοθηκῶν κατασκευῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον συναγωγῆς τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, πᾶσι τούτων ὅντων κατὰ μνήμην;

'Ἐπειδὲ περὶ νεῶν κατασκευῆς εἰρήκαμεν, φέρε' εἴπωμεν (ἀκοῆς γάρ ἐστιν ἄξια) καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος βασιλέως κατεσκευασμένα σκάφη. περὶ ὧν ὁ αὐτὸς Καλλίξεινος ἴστορεῖ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας οὐτωσὶ λέγων· "τὴν τεσσαρακοντήρη ναῦν κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ τὸ μῆκος ἔχουσαν διακοσίων ὅγδοήκοντα πηχῶν, ὀκτὼ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἀπὸ παρόδου ἐπὶ πάροδον, f ὁ νῦν δὲ ἔως ἀκροστολίου τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ πηχῶν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πρυμνητικῶν ἀφλάστων ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς¹ τῇ θαλάσσῃ μέρος αὐτῆς τρεῖς πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα πήχεις. πηδάλια δ' εἶχε τέτταρα

¹ πρὸς C: om. A. ὑπὸ Kaibel

^a The mechanical difficulties involved in assuming thirty or even three rowers seated or standing in a vertical line are obvious, and best discussed by Bauer; *Griech. Kriegs-altertumer*, 363 ff. The supposition that there were thirty men to an oar does not remove the difficulties, and is not

Philadelphus surpassed many kings in wealth, and devoted himself with enthusiastic zeal to all his establishments, so that he surpassed all others in the number of his ships as well. At any rate, the largest ships owned by him were: two with thirty banks^a of oars, one with twenty, four with thirteen, two with twelve, fourteen with eleven, thirty with nine, thirty-seven with seven, five with six, and seventeen with five. But the number of ships with rowers ranging from four banks to one and a half was double the others. The ships dispatched to the islands and the other states over which he ruled, as well as to Libya, numbered more than four thousand. And concerning the number of books, the establishing of libraries, and the collection in the Hall of the Muses, why need I even speak, since they are in all men's memories?

But since we are on the subject of naval equipment, come, let us speak also of the ships constructed by King Ptolemy Philopator, for they are worth hearing about. The same Callixeinus gives an account of these in the first book of his work *On Alexandria*, in these words^b. "Philopator constructed his forty-bank ship with a length of four hundred and twenty feet^c; its beam from gangway to gangway^d was fifty-seven feet; its height to the gunwale was seventy-two feet. From the top of the stern-post to the water-line it measured seventy-nine and a half feet. It had four steering-oars, supported by any ancient author See C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*.

^b F.H.G. III. 55.

^c The Athenian trireme had a length at the water-line of not over one hundred and twenty feet

^d The πάροδος was a gangway running from bow to stern on each side

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204 τριακονταπήχη, κώπας δὲ θρανιτικὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πηχῶν τὰς μεγίστας, αἱ διὰ τὸ μόλυβδον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγχειριδίοις καὶ γεγονέναι λίαν εἴσω βαρεῖαι κατὰ τὴν ζύγωσιν εὐήρεις ὑπῆρχον ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας. δίπρως δ' ἐγεγόνει καὶ δί- πρυμνος καὶ ἔμβολα εἶχεν ἑπτά· τούτων ἐν μὲν ἥγονύμενον, τὰ δ' ὑποστέλλοντα, τινὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπωτίδας. ὑποζώματα δὲ ἐλάμβανε δώδεκα· ἔξα- κοσίων δ' ἦν ἕκαστον πηχῶν. εὔρυθμος δ' ἦν καθ' ὑπερβολήν. θαυμαστὸς δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κόσμος τῆς νεώς· ζῷα μὲν γὰρ εἶχεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἢ δώδεκα πηχῶν κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ κατὰ πρῷραν, καὶ πᾶς τόπος αὐτῆς κηρογραφίᾳ κατεπεποίκιλτο, τὸ δ' ἔγκωπον ἅπαν μέχρι τῆς τρόπεως κισσίνην φυλλάδα καὶ θύρσους εἶχε πέριξ. πολὺς δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅπλων κόσμος, ἀνεπλήρουν δὲ πάντα¹ τὰ προσδεόμενα τῆς νεώς μέρη. γενομένης δὲ ἀναπείρας ἐδέξατο ἐρέτας πλείους τῶν τετρα- κισχιλίων, εἰς δὲ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τετρακοσίους· εἰς δὲ τὸ κατάστρωμα ἐπιβάτας τρισχιλίους ἀποδέοντας ἔκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· καὶ χωρὶς ὑπὸ τὰ ζύγια πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἔτερον ἐπισιτισμοῦ² ε τε οὐκ ὀλίγον. καθειλκύσθη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ ἐσχαρίου τινός, ὁ φασι παγῆναι πεντήκοντα πλοίων πεντηρικῶν ξυλείᾳ, ὑπὸ δὲ ὅχλου μετὰ βοῆς καὶ σαλπίγγων κατήγετο. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φοινίκης τις ἐπενόησε τὴν καθολκήν, τάφρον

¹ πάντα added by Schweighauser.

² ἐπισιτισμοῦ Casaubon · ἐπισιτισμούς A.

forty-five feet long, and the oars of the topmost rowers, which are the longest, measured fifty-seven feet ; these, since they carried lead on the handles and were very heavy inboard, were yet easy to handle in actual use because of their nice balance. It had a double bow and a double stern, and carried seven rams ; one of these was the leader, others were of gradually diminishing size, some being mounted at the catheads. It carried twelve under-girders, each of them measuring nine hundred feet^a. It was extraordinarily well proportioned. Wonderful also was the adornment of the vessel besides , for it had figures at stern and bow not less than eighteen feet high, and every available space was elaborately covered with encaustic painting ; the entire surface where the oars projected, down to the keel, had a pattern of ivy-leaves and Bacchic wands. Rich also was the equipment in armament, and it satisfied all the requirements of the various parts of the ship.^b On a trial voyage it took more than four thousand men to man the oars, and four hundred substitutes^c ; to man the deck there were two thousand eight hundred and fifty marines ; and besides, below decks was another complement of men and provisions in no small quantity At the beginning it was launched from a kind of cradle which, they say, was put together from the timbers of fifty five-bank ships, and it was pulled into the water by a crowd, to the accompaniment of shouts and trumpets. Later, however, a Phoenician conceived the method

900 ft., this passage would seem to prove decisively that the girders ran outside the ship from bow to stern. See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxii 173 ff.

^a lit. "all the requiring parts", see critical note

^c Or "men to manage the sails and rigging"

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ὑποστησάμενος ἵσην τῇ νηὶ κατὰ μῆκος, ἦν πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος ὥρυξε. ταύτῃ δὲ τοὺς θεμελίους κατώκοδόμησε λίθῳ στερεῷ πρὸς πέντε πήχεις τὸ βάθος, καὶ διὰ τούτων φάλαγγας ἐπικαρσίας κατὰ πλάτος τῆς τάφρου διώσας συνεχεῖς τετράπηχυν εἰς βάθος τόπον ἀπολειπούσας διὰ τοῦτο ποιήσας εἴσρουν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνέπλησεν αὐτῆς πάντα τὸν ὁρυχθέντα τόπον, εἰς δὲ ράδίως ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἄνδρῶν εἰσήγαγε τὴν ναῦν. . .¹ τὸ ἀνοιχθὲν κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐμφράξαντας μετεξαντλῆσαι πάλιν τὴν θάλασσαν ὄργανοις. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἔδρασθῆναι τὸ πλοῖον ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τῶν προειρημένων φαλάγγων.

Κατεσκεύασεν δ’ ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ καὶ ποτάμιον πλοῖον, τὴν θαλαμηγὸν καλουμένην, τὸ μῆκος ἔχουσαν ἡμισταδίου, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἦν πλατύτατον εἰλίπηχῶν τὸ δὲ ὕψος σὺν τῷ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀναστήματι μικρὸν ἀπέδει τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν τὸ δὲ σχῆμα αὐτῆς οὕτε ταῖς μακραῖς ναυσὶν οὕτε ταῖς στρογγύλαις ἐοικός, ἀλλὰ παρηλλαγμένον τι² καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βάθος. κάτωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἀλιτευῆς καὶ πλατεία, τῷ δὲ ὅγκῳ μετέωρος τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς μέρη καὶ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ πρῷραν παρέτεινεν ἐφ’ ἵκανόν, τῆς ἀνακλάσεως εὐγράμμου φαινομένης δίπρωρος δὲ ἐγεγόνει καὶ δίπρυμνος καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἀνέτεινε διὰ τὸ μετέωρον ἄγαν ἵστασθαι πολλάκις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ κύμα κατεσκεύαστο δὲ αὐτῆς κατὰ μὲν μέσον τὸ κύτος τὰ συμπόσια

¹ εἴτα added by Casaubon to fill the gap, but more is needed to make the account clear.

² τι Cramer. τε A.

of launching by digging a trench under the ship near the harbour, equal in length to the ship. He constructed for this trench foundations of solid stone seven and a half feet in depth, and from one end of these foundations to the other he fixed in a row skids,^a which ran transversely to the stones across the width of the trench, leaving a space below them six feet deep. And having dug a sluice from the sea, he let the sea into all the excavated space, filling it full; into this space he easily brought the vessel, with the help of unskilled men; . . . when they had barred the entrance which had been opened at the beginning, they again pumped out the sea-water with engines. And when this had been done, the ship rested securely on the skids before-mentioned.

" Philopator also constructed a river boat, the so-called 'cabin-carrier,'^b having a length of three hundred feet, and a beam at the broadest part of forty-five feet. The height, including the pavilion when it was raised, was little short of sixty feet. Its shape was neither like that of the war galleys nor like that of the round-bottomed merchantmen, but had been altered somewhat in draught to suit its use on the river. For below the water-line it was flat and broad, but in its bulk it rose high in the air; and the top parts of its sides, especially near the bow, extended in a considerable overhang, with a backward curve very graceful in appearance. It had a double bow and a double stern which projected upward to a high point, because the waves in the river often rise very high. The hold amidships was constructed with saloons for dining-parties,

^a Or "rollers"

^b The barge of state

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καὶ οἱ κοιτῶνες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν δι-
αγωγὴν χρηστήρια. πέριξ δὲ τῆς νεὼς περίπατοι
κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς πλευρὰς ἔγεγόνεσαν διπλοῖ. ὃν
ἡ μὲν περίμετρος ἦν πέντε πλέθρων οὐκ ἐλάτων,
205 ἡ δὲ διάθεσις τοῦ μὲν καταγείου περιστύλῳ
παραπλήσιος, τοῦ δὲ ὑπερώου κρύπτῃ φραγμοῖς
καὶ θυρίσι περιεχομένη¹ πάντοθεν. πρῶτον δὲ
εἰσιόντι κατὰ πρύμναν ἐτέτακτο προστὰς² ἐξ
ἐναντίου μὲν ἀναπεπταμένη, κύκλῳ δὲ περίπτερος.
ἥς ἐν τῷ καταντικρὺ τῆς πρώρας μέρει προ-
πύλαιον κατεσκεύαστο δι' ἐλέφαντος καὶ τῆς
πολυτελεστάτης ὅλης γεγονός. τοῦτο δὲ διελ-
θοῦσιν ὡσανεὶ προσκήνιον ἐπεποίητο τῇ διαθέσει
κατάστεγον δν. Ὡς³ πάλιν ὁδοίως κατὰ μὲν τὴν
μέσην πλευρὰν προστὰς² ἐτέρα παρέκειτο ὅπισθεν,
b καὶ τετράθυρος ἔφερεν εἰς αὐτὴν πυλών. ἐξ
ἀριστερῶν δὲ καὶ δεξιῶν θυρίδες ὑπέκειντο εὐ-
άειαν⁴ παρέχουσαι συνῆπτο⁵ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μέγιστος
οἶκος· περίπτερος δὲ ἦν εἴκοσι κλίνας ἐπιδεχόμενος
κατεσκεύαστο δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἀπὸ
κέδρου σχιστῆς⁶ καὶ κυπαρίσσου Μιλησίας· αἱ
δὲ τῆς περιστάσεως θύραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἴκοσι
οὖσαι θύναις κατεκεκόλληντο σανίσιν, ἐλεφα-
τίνους ἔχουσαι τοὺς κόσμους ἡ δὲ ἐνήλωσις ἡ
κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ρόπτρα ἐξ ἐρυθροῦ
γεγονότα χαλκοῦ τὴν χρύσωσιν ἐκ πυρὸς εὐλήφει
c τῶν δὲ κιόνων τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν κυπαρίσσια,

¹ κρύπτῃ . . . περιεχομένη Schweighausei ιρυπτή
περιεχομένη Α ² προστὰς Villebrun· πρὸς τὰ A.

³ κατάστεγον δν. Ὡς Kaihel κατάστεγον νωι A

⁴ εὐάειαν Casaubon: εὐαγειαν A

⁵ συνῆπτο Schweighauser· συνήγετο A. Cf below, d

⁶ σχιστῆς A· Συριακῆς Meineke.

with berths, and with all the other conveniences of living. Round the ship, on three sides, ran double promenades.^a The perimeter of one of these measured not less than five furlongs. The structure of the one below decks resembled a peristyle : that of the one on the upper deck was like a concealed peristyle^b built up all round with walls and windows. As one first came on board at the stern, there was set a vestibule open in front, but having a row of columns on the sides ; in the part which faced the bow was built a fore-gate, constructed of ivory and the most expensive wood. Entering this, one came upon a kind of proscenium,^c which in its construction had been roofed over. Matching the fore-gate, again, a second vestibule lay aft at the transverse side,^d and a portal with four doors led into it. On both sides, left and right, portholes were set beneath to provide good ventilation. Connected with these entrances was the largest cabin ; it had a single row of columns all round, and could hold twenty couches. The most of it was made of split^e cedar and Milesian^f cypress ; the surrounding doors, numbering twenty, had panels of fragrant cedar nicely glued together, with ornamentation in ivory. The decorative studs covering their surface, and the handles as well, were made of red copper, which had been gilded in the fire. As for the columns, their shafts were of cypress-wood, while the capitals, of the Corinthian

^a i.e. on upper and lower deck. ^b cryptoporticus.

^c lit., the front wall of the scene-building in a theatre, facing the audience.

^d i.e. the quarter-deck, the "side" connecting the two lateral decks.

^e Or Syrian ; see critical note.

^f Probably the Miletus in Cyprus is meant.

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αὶ δὲ κεφαλαὶ Κορινθιουργεῖς, ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ διακεκοσμημέναι τὸ δὲ ἐπιστύλιον ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὸ δόλον· ἐφ' οὐδὲ διάζωσμα ἐφήρμοστο περιφανῆ ζῷδια ἔχον ἐλεφάντινα μείζω πηχυναίων, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ μέτρια, τῇ χορηγίᾳ δὲ ἀξιοθαύμαστα ἐπέκειτο δὲ καὶ στέγη καλὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ τετράγωνος κυπαρισσίνῃ· γλυπτοὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἥσαν οἱ κόσμοι, χρυσῆν ἔχοντες τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. παρέκειτο δὲ τῷ συμποσίῳ τούτῳ καὶ κοιτῶν ἐπτάδ κλινος ὡς συνῆπτο στενὴ σύριγξ, κατὰ πλάτος τοῦ κύτους χωρίζουσα τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ συμπόσιον ἐννεάκλινον ἦν, παραπλήσιον τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ κοιτῶν πεντάκλινος.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλληρα τῆς πρώτης στέγης κατεσκευασμένα τοιαῦτ' ἦν ἀναβάντων δὲ τὰς παρακειμένας πλησίον τῷ προειρημένῳ κοιτῶνι κλίμακας οἶκος ἦν ἄλλος πεντάκλινος ὁρόφωμα ῥομβωτὸν ἔχων καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης θολοειδῆς, εἴναι ὡς μαρμάρινον ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ. κατεναυτίον δὲ τούτου ἄλλο συμπόσιον πολυτελὲς περίπτερον· οἱ γὰρ κίονες αὐτοῦ ἐκ λίθων Ἰνδικῶν συνέκειντο. παρὰ δὲ¹ καὶ τούτῳ τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιτῶνες, ἀκόλουθον τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις ἔχοντες. προάγοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πρῷραν οἶκος ὑπέκειτο Βακχικὸς τρισκαιδεκάκλινος περίπτερος, ἐπίχρυσον ἔχων τὸ γεῖσον ἔως τοῦ περιτρέχοντος ἐπιστυλίου· στέγη δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως οἰκεία. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ μὲν τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἄντρον κατεσκεύαστο, οὐ χρῶμα μὲν ἦν ἔχον τὴν

¹ δὲ added by Casaubon

order, were entirely covered with ivory and gold. The whole entablature was in gold; over it was affixed a frieze with striking figures in ivory, more than a foot and a half tall, mediocre in workmanship, to be sure, but remarkable in their lavish display. Over the dining-saloon was a beautiful coffered ceiling of cypress wood; the ornamentations on it were sculptured, with a surface of gilt. Next to this dining-saloon was a sleeping apartment with seven berths, adjoining which was a narrow passage-way running transversely from one side of the hold to the other, and dividing off the women's quarters. In the latter was a dining-saloon, with nine couches, which was similar to the large saloon in magnificence, and a sleeping-apartment with five berths.

"Now the arrangements up to the first deck were as described. Ascending the companion-way, which adjoined the sleeping-apartment last mentioned, was another cabin large enough for five couches, having a ceiling with lozenge-shaped panels; near it was a rotunda-shaped shrine of Aphrodite, in which was a marble statue of the goddess. Opposite to this was a sumptuous dining-saloon surrounded by a row of columns, which were built of marble from India. Beside this dining-saloon were sleeping-rooms having arrangements which corresponded to those mentioned before. As one proceeded toward the bow he came upon a chamber devoted to Dionysus, large enough for thirteen couches, and surrounded by a row of columns; it had a cornice which was gilded as far as the architrave surrounding the room; the ceiling was appropriate to the spirit of the god. In this chamber, on the starboard side, a recess was built; externally, it showed a stone fabric artistically made

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πετροποιίαν ἐκ λίθων ἀληθινῶν¹ καὶ χρυσοῦ δεδη-
μιουργημένην· ἕδρυτο δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν βασιλέων
συγγενείας ἀγάλματα εἰκονικὰ λίθου λυχνέως.
ἐπιτερπὲς δ' ἵκανῶς καὶ ἄλλο συμπόσιον ἦν ἐπὶ
206 τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου οἴκου στέγῃ κείμενον, σκηνῆς
ἔχον τάξιν ὡς στέγη μὲν² οὐκ ἐπῆν, διατόναια δὲ
τοξοειδῆ διὰ ποσοῦ τινος ἐνετέτατο³ διαστήματος,
ἔφ' ὧν αὐλαῖαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἀλουργεῖς
ἐνεπετάννυντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο⁴ αἴθριον ἐξεδέχετο
τὴν ἐπάνω τῆς ὑποκειμένης προστάδος τάξιν
κατέχον· ὡς κλιμάξ τε ἐλικτὴ φέρουσα πρὸς τὸν
κρυπτὸν περίπατον παρέκειτο καὶ συμπόσιον
ἐννεάκλινον, τῇ διαθέσει τῆς κατασκευῆς Αἶγύπ-
τιον. οἱ γὰρ γεγονότες αὐτόθι κίονες ἀνήγοντο
στρογγύλοι, διαλλάττοντες τοὺς σπονδύλους, τοῦ
b μὲν μέλανος, τοῦ δὲ λευκοῦ παράλληλα⁵ τιθεμένων.
εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῷ σχήματι περι-
φερεῖς, ὧν ἡ μὲν δλη περιγραφὴ παραπλησία
ρόδοις ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἀναπεπταμένοις ἔστιν. περὶ
δὲ τὸν προσαγορευόμενον κάλαθον οὐχ ἔλικες,
καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑληνικῶν, καὶ φύλλα τραχέα
περίκειται, λωτῶν δὲ ποταμίων κάλυκες καὶ
φοινίκων ἀρτιβλάστων καρπός· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ
πλειόνων ἄλλων ἀνθέων γέγλυπται γένη. τὸ δ'
ὑπὸ τὴν ρίζαν, δὲ δὴ τῷ συνάπτοντι πρὸς τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἐπίκειται σπονδύλωφ, κιβωρίων ἄνθεσι
καὶ φύλλοις ὥσανεὶ καταπεπλεγμένοις δομοίαν
c εἶχε τὴν διάθεσιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κίονας οὕτως

¹ ἀληθινῶν A ἀχατῶν Schweighauser

² ὡς στέγη μὲν Emperius. ὥστε τῇ μὲν A

³ ἐνετέτατο Casaubon: ἐντέτακτο A.

of real jewels^a and gold ; enshrined in it were portrait-statues of the royal family in Parian marble. Very delightful, too, was another dining-saloon built on the roof of the largest cabin in the manner of an awning ; this had no roof, but curtain rods shaped like bows extended over it for a certain distance, and on these, when the ship was under way, purple curtains were spread out. Next after this was an open deck^b which occupied the space directly over the vestibule extending below it ; a circular companion-way extending from this deck led to the covered promenade and the dining-saloon with nine couches. This was Egyptian in the style of its construction ; for the columns built at this point bulged as they ascended, and the drums differed, one being black and another white, placed alternately. Some of their capitals are circular in shape ; the entire figure described by them resembles rose-blossoms slightly opened. But around the part which is called the ' basket '^c there are no volutes or rough^d leaves laid on, as on Greek capitals, but calyxes of water-lilies and the fruit of freshly-budded date-palms ; in some instances several other kinds of flowers are sculptured thereon. The part below the root of the capital, which, of course, rests upon the drum adjoining it, had a motif that was similar ; it was composed of flowers and leaves of Egyptian beans, as it were, intertwined. This is the way in

^a Or " agates " ; see critical note.

^b Or possibly " atrium."

^c The part of the column which spreads out between shaft and entablature. ^d i.e acanthus.

⁴ τοῦτο Casaubon τοῦτον A.

⁵ παραλλάξ (?) Kaibel.

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Αἰγύπτιοι κατασκευάζουσι· καὶ τοὺς τοίχους δὲ λευκαῖς καὶ μελαίναις διαποικίλλουσι πλινθίσιν, ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλαβαστίτιδος προσ- αγορευομένης πέτρας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἔτερα κατὰ μέσον τῆς νεώς τὸ κύτος ἐν κοίλῃ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν αὐτῆς μέρος οἰκήματα ἦν. ὁ δὲ ἴστος ἦν αὐτῆς ἔβδομήκοντα πηχῶν, βύσσινον ἔχων ἴστίον ἀλουρ- γεῖ παρασείψ¹ κεκοσμημένον.”

Πᾶς δ’ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου πλοῦτος ἢ τοσοῦτον χρόνον² φυλαχθεὶς κατελύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ τὸν Γαβινιακὸν συστησαμένου πόλεμον, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς γενομένου ἀλλ’ αὐλητοῦ καὶ μάγου.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος τοῦ Συρακοσίου κατασκευασθείσης νεώς, ἥς καὶ Ἀρχιμήδης ἦν ὁ γεωμέτρης ἐπόπτης, οὐκ ἀξιον εἶναι κρίνω σιωπῆσαι, σύγγραμμα ἐκδόντος Μοσχίωνός τινος, ὃ οὐ παρέργως ἐνέτυχον ὑπογυίως. γράφει οὖν³ ὁ Μοσχίων οὕτως. “Διοκλεΐδης⁴ μὲν ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης θαυμάζεται⁵ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ροδίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου προσαχθείσῃ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐλεπόλει, ε Τίμαιος δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾳ τῇ κατασκευασθείσῃ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ, καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ἐπὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης ἦ συνέβαινε κατακομισθῆναι τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα, Πολύ- κλειτος δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ λυχνίῳ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι

¹ παρασείψ Passow: παρασείρωι A.

² τοσοῦτον χρόνον added by Kaibel.

³ οὖν Musurus: γοῦν A.

⁴ The passage is mutilated, and it is strange that the descriptions written by other authors should be compared with Hieron himself or his naval architects. For Ροδίων πόλιν we should probably read Ροδίων πολιόρκησιν, “brought to

which Egyptians construct their columns ; and the walls, too, they vary with alternating white and black courses of stone, but sometimes, also, they build them of the rock called alabaster. And there were many other rooms in the hollow of the ship's hold through its entire extent. Its mast had a height of one hundred and five feet, with a sail of fine linen reinforced by a purple topsail."

All the wealth of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, after being retained for so long a period, was dissipated by the last Ptolemy, the same who got up the Gabinian war^a, he was not a man, but a flute-player and juggler.

With regard to the construction of the ship built by Hieron of Syracuse, which was superintended by the mathematician Archimedes, I hold it not right to be silent, since a certain Moschion has published a treatise on it which I have recently read with care Moschion, then, writes as follows : " Diocleides of Abdera is admired for his description^b of the siege-engine which was brought to bear against the walls of the city of Rhodes by Demetrius^c ; Timaeus, for his description of the funeral pyre built for Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily ; Hieronymus, for his account of the carriage built to convey the body of Alexander^d ; Polycletus, for the description of the chandelier

^a 58-55 b.c. ; he was known as Ptolemy Auletes, but he was not the last Ptolemy.

^b See critical note.

^c Demetrius Poliorcetes, who captured Rhodes in 304 b.c. after a siege which lasted a year.

^d From Babylon to Alexandria, 323 b.c.

bear against the walls for the prosecution of the siege of Rhodes" The engine was built by Epimachus of Athens.

⁵ θαυμάζεται A θαυμαζέτω Ritschl, *Opusc.* 1. 469 ff.

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τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἱέρων δὲ ὁ Συρακοσίων βασιλεύς,
ὅ πάντα Ῥωμαίοις φίλος, ἐσπουδάκει μὲν καὶ
περὶ ἱερῶν καὶ γυμνασίων κατασκευάσ, ἦν δὲ
καὶ περὶ ναυπηγίας φιλότιμος, πλοῖα σιτηγὰ
κατασκευαζόμενος, ὃν ἐνὸς τῆς κατασκευῆς μνη-
f σθήσομαι. εἰς ὑλην μὲν ἔνδιλωσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης
παρεσκεύαστο ἔξήκοντα τετρηρικῶν¹ σκαφῶν
πλῆθος ἔξεργάσασθαι δυναμένην. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα
ἡτοιμάσατο γόμφους τε καὶ ἔγκοιλα καὶ σταμῖνας
καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην χρείαν ὑλην² τὴν μὲν ἔξ
Ἴταλίας, τὴν δ' ἐκ Σικελίας, εἰς δὲ σχοινία
λευκέαν μὲν ἔξ Ἰβηρίας, κάνναβιν δὲ καὶ πίτταν³
ἐκ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὰ
χρειώδη πολλαχόθεν. συνήγαγε δὲ καὶ ναυπηγοὺς
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τεχνίτας καὶ καταστήσας ἐκ
πάντων Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀρχιτέκτονα παρ-
207 εκάλεσε προθύμως ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς κατασκευῆς,
προσκαρτερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμέρας. τὸ μὲν
οὖν ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς τῆς νεώς ἐν μησὶν ἔξ
ἔξειργάσατο⁴ καὶ ταῖς ἐκ μολίβου ποιηθείσαις
κεραμίσιν ἀεὶ καθ' ὁ ναυπηγηθείη μέρος περι-
ελαμβάνετο, ὡς ἂν τριακοσίων ὅντων τῶν τὴν
ὑλην ἐργαζομένων τεχνιτῶν χωρὶς τῶν ὑπηρε-
τούντων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ μέρος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν
b καθέλκειν προσετέτακτο, τὴν λοιπὴν κατασκευὴν
ἥν ἐκεῖ λαμβάνῃ ὡς δὲ περὶ τὸν καθελκυσμὸν
αὐτοῦ τὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πολλὴ ζήτησις ἦν,
Ἀρχιμήδης ὁ μηχανικὸς μόνος αὐτὸ κατήγαγε δι'

¹ τετρηρικῶν Μεινέκε· τετρηρικῶν A.

² χρείαν ὑλην Casaubon : ὑλην χρείαν AC.

³ πίτταν Gesner : κιττὸν A

⁴ ἔξειργάσατο Schweighauser : ειργάσατο AC. A gap follows.

made for the Persian king.^a But Hieron, the king of Syracuse, he who was in all respects friendly to Rome, not only interested himself in the building of temples and gymnasia, but was also a zealous shipbuilder, constructing wheat-transports, the construction of one of which I will proceed to describe. For material he caused timber to be brought from Aetna, enough in quantity for the building of sixty quadriremes. In keeping with this,^b he caused to be prepared dowels, belly-timbers, stanchions, and all the material for general uses, partly from Italy, partly from Sicily ; for cables hemp from Iberia, hemp and pitch from the river Rhone, and all other things needful from many places. He also got together shipwrights and all other kinds of artisans, and from them all he placed in charge the Corinthian Archias as architect, urging him to attack the construction zealously ; and he personally applied himself diligently to the work during the days it required. One half, then, of the entire ship he finished in six months . . . and as each part of the ship was completed it was overlaid with tiling made of lead , for there were about three hundred artisans working on the materials, not including their assistants This part of the ship, then, was ordered to be launched in the sea, that it might receive the finishing touches there. But after considerable discussion in regard to the method of pulling it into the water, Archimedes the mechanician alone was

^a What king is meant is unknown For the historian Polycleitus of Larisa cf. Athen 539 a.

^b The text is defective, since ὡς ἡγομέσατο requires a main verb Something like ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ποιησόμενος is required, "with the idea of carrying out this (huge) project "

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ολίγων σωμάτων. κατασκευάσας γάρ ἔλικα τὸ τηλικοῦτον σκάφος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήγαγε. πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχιψήδης εὗρε τὴν τῆς ἔλικος κατασκευῆν ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς νεώς ἐν ἄλλοις ἔξι μησὶ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ τοῖς χαλκοῖς ἥλοις πᾶσα περιελήφθη, ὥν οἱ πολλοὶ δεκάμυοοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τούτων ἡμιόλιοι—διὰ τρυπάνων δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ἡρμοσμένοι τοὺς σταμῖνας συνέχοντες· μολυβδίναις δὲ κεραμίσιν ἐπεστεγνοῦντο¹ πρὸς τὸ ξύλον, ὑποτιθεμένων ὅθουνίων μετὰ πίττης —ὡς οὖν τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν ἔξειργάσατο, τὴν ἐντὸς διασκευὴν ἔξεπονεῦτο.

c Ἡν δὲ ἡ ναῦς τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ εἰκόσορος, τριπάροδος δέ τὴν μὲν κατωτάτῳ ἔχων² ἐπὶ τὸν γόμον, ἐφ' ἣν διὰ κλιμάκων πυκνῶν ἡ κατάβασις ἐγίνετο· ἡ δ' ἐτέρᾳ τοῖς εἰς τὰς διαίτας βουλομένοις εἰσιέναι ἐμεμηχάνητο· μεθ' ἣν ἡ τελευταία τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τεταγμένοις. ἦσαν δὲ τῆς μέσης παρόδου παρ' ἕκάτερον τῶν τοίχων δίαιται τετράκλινοι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, τριάκοντα τὸ πλήθος. ἡ δὲ ναυκληρικὴ δίαιτα κλινῶν μὲν ἣν πεντεκαΐδεκα, θαλάμους δὲ τρεῖς εἶχε τρικλίνους, ὧν ἣν τὸ κατὰ τὴν πρύμναν ὀπτανεῖον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δάπεδον εἶχεν ἐν ἀβακίσκοις συγκείμενον ἐκ παντοίων λίθων, ἐν οἷς ἣν κατεσκευασμένος πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν d Ἰλιάδα μῦθος θαυμασίως· ταῖς τε κατασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὄροφαις, καὶ θυρώμασι δὲ πάντα ἣν

¹ ἐπεστεγνοῦντο Kaibel: ἀπεστεγνοῦντο A

² ἔχων A : ἔχουσα C (both corrupt).

able to launch it with the help of a few persons. For by the construction of a windlass he was able to launch a ship of so great proportions in the water. Archimedes was the first to invent the construction of the windlass. The remaining parts of the ship were completed in another period of six months ; it was entirely secured with bronze rivets, most of which weighed ten pounds, while the rest were half as large again ; these were fitted in place by means of augers, and held the stanchions together ; fixed to the timbers was a sheath of leaden tiles, under which were strips of linen canvas covered with pitch. When, then, he had completed the outside surface, he proceeded to make complete the inner arrangements.

" Now the ship was constructed to hold twenty banks of rowers, with three gangways. The lowest gangway which it contained led to the cargo, the descent to which was afforded by companion-ways of solid construction ^a ; the second was designed for the use of those who wished to enter the cabins ; after this came the third and last, which was for men posted under arms. Belonging to the middle gangway were cabins for men ranged on each side of the ship, large enough for four couches, and numbering thirty. The officers' cabin could hold fifteen couches and contained three apartments of the size of three couches ; that toward the stern was the cooks' galley. All these rooms had a tessellated flooring made of a variety of stones, in the pattern of which was wonderfully wrought the entire story of the *Iliad* ; also in the furniture, the ceiling, and the doors all

^a ordinarily means a ladder, which was more common in early Greek houses than solidly built stairs.

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ταῦτα πεπονημένα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνωτάτω πάροδον γυμνάσιον ἦν καὶ περίπατοι σύμμετρον ἔχοντες τὴν κατασκευὴν τῷ τοῦ πλοίου μεγέθει, ἐν οἷς κῆποι παντοῖοι θαυμασίως ἥσαν ὑπερβάλλοντες¹ ταῖς φυτείαις, διὰ κεραμίδων μολυβδινῶν κατεστεγνωμένων ἄρδευόμενοι,² ἔτι δὲ σκηναὶ κιττοῦ λευκοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλων, ὃν αἱ ρίζαι τὴν τροφὴν ἐν πίθοις εἶχον γῆς πεπληρωμένοις, τὴν αὐτὴν ἄρδευσιν λαμβάνονται καθάπερ καὶ οἱ κῆποι. αὗται δὲ αἱ σκηναὶ συνεσκίαζον τὸν περιπάτους. ἔξῆς δὲ τούτων Ἀφροδίσιον κατεσκεύαστο τρίκλινον, δάπεδον ἔχον ἐκ λίθων ἀχατῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων χαριεστάτων ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἥσαν· τοὺς τοίχους δ' εἶχε καὶ τὴν ὄροφὴν κυπαρίστου, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἐλέφαντος καὶ θύου· γραφαῖς δὲ³ καὶ ἀγάλμασιν, ἔτι δὲ ποτηρίων κατασκευαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως κατεσκεύαστο

Τούτου δ' ἐφεξῆς σχολαστήριον ὑπῆρχε πεντάκλινον, ἐκ πύξου τοὺς τοίχους καὶ τὰ θυρώματα κατεσκευασμένον, βιβλιοθήκην ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὄροφὴν πόλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀχραδίνην ἀπομεμημένον ἡλιοτροπίου. ἦν δὲ καὶ βαλανεῖον τρίκλινον πυρίας χαλκᾶς ἔχον τρεῖς καὶ λουτῆρα πέντε μετρητὰς δεχόμενον ποικίλον τοῦ Ταυρομενίτου λίθου κατεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ οἰκήματα πλείω τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς τὰς ἀντλίας φυλάττουσι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἵππωνες

¹ ὑπερβάλλοντες Schweighauser περιβάλλοντες A.

² ἄρδευόμενοι added by Kaibel.

³ δὲ added by Schweighauser.

these themes were artfully represented. On the level of the uppermost gangway there were a gymnasium and promenades built on a scale proportionate to the size of the ship ; in these were garden-beds of every sort, luxuriant with plants of marvellous growth, and watered by lead tiles hidden from sight , then there were bowers of white ivy and grape-vines, the roots of which got their nourishment in casks filled with earth, and receiving the same irrigation as the garden-beds. These bowers shaded the promenades Built next to these was a shrine of Aphrodite large enough to contain three couches, with a floor made of agate and other stones, the most beautiful kinds found in the island ; it had walls and ceiling of cypress-wood, and doors of ivory and fragrant cedar ; it was also most lavishly furnished with paintings and statues and drinking-vessels of every shape

“ Adjoining the Aphrodite room was a library ^a large enough for five couches,^b the walls and doors of which were made of boxwood ; it contained a collection of books, and on the ceiling was a concave dial ^c made in imitation of the sun-dial on Achradina. There was also a bathroom, of three-couch size, with three bronze tubs and a wash-stand of variegated Tauromenian marble, having a capacity of fifty gallons There were also several rooms built for the marines and those who manned the pumps.^d

^a lit. “ room for leisurely, *i.e.* studious or literary, occupations.”

^b The Greeks had no desks or library-tables, but usually reclined on a couch when they wrote or read. “ Couch ” is also a unit of measure in determining the size of a room.

^c lit. “ vault ” (of the sky).

^d lit. “ who guarded the bilge ” (*cf* Aristoph. *Eq.* 434).

ἥσαν ἔκατέρου τῶν τοίχων δέκα κατὰ δὲ τούτους
 ἡ τροφὴ τοῦς ἵππους ἔκειτο καὶ τῶν ἀναβατῶν
 208 καὶ τῶν παιδῶν τὰ σκεύη. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑδροθήκη
 κατὰ τὴν πρῷραν κλειστή, δισχιλίους μετρητὰς
 δεχομένη, ἐκ σανίδων καὶ πίττης καὶ ὁδονίων
 κατεσκευασμένη. παρὰ δὲ ταύτην κατεσκεύαστο
 διὰ μολιβδώματος καὶ σανίδων κλειστὸν¹ ἰχθυο-
 τροφεῖον· τούτο δ' ἦν πλῆρες θαλάττης, ἐν ᾧ
 πολλοὶ ἰχθύες ἐνετρέφοντο.² ὑπῆρχον δὲ καὶ τῶν
 τοίχων ἔκατέρωθεν τροποὶ³ προεωσμένοι, διά-
 στημα σύμμετρον ἔχοντες· ἐφ' ὧν κατεσκευα-
 σμέναι ἥσαν ξυλοθῆκαι καὶ κρίβανοι καὶ ὄπτανεῖα
 β, καὶ μύλοι καὶ πλείους ἔτεραι διακονίαι. ἄτλαντές
 τε περιέτρεχον τὴν ναῦν ἔκτὸς ἔξαπήγχεις, οἱ τοὺς
 ὅγκους ὑπειλήφεσαν τοὺς ἀνωτάτω καὶ τὸ τρί-
 γλυφον, πάντες ἐν διαστήματι συμμέτρω⁴ βεβώτες.
 ἡ δὲ ναῦς πᾶσα οἰκείαις γραφαῖς ἐπεπόνητο.
 πύργοι τε ἥσαν ἐν αὐτῇ ὀκτὼ σύμμετροι τὸ
 μέγεθος τοῦς τῆς νεώς ὅγκοις· δύο μὲν κατὰ
 πρύμναν, οἱ δ' ἵσοι κατὰ πρῷραν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
 κατὰ μέσην ναῦν. τούτων δὲ ἔκάστῳ παρεδέδεντο
 κεραῖαι β', ἐφ' ὧν κατεσκεύαστο φατνώματα,
 δι' ὧν ἡφίεντο λίθοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπλέοντας τῶν
 πολεμίων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πύργων ἔκαστον ἀνέβαινον
 c τέτταρες μὲν καθωπλισμένοι νεανίσκοι, δύο δὲ
 τοξόται. πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν πύργων λίθων καὶ
 βελῶν πλῆρες ἦν. τεῖχος δὲ ἐπάλξεις ἔχον καὶ
 καταστρώματα διὰ νεώς ἐπὶ κιλλιβάντων κα-
 εσκεύαστο· ἐφ' οὖς λιθοβόλος ἐφειστήκει, τριτά-
 λαντον λίθον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ⁵ ἀφιεὶς καὶ δωδεκάπηχυ

¹ κλειστὸν Coraes· κλειστῶν A.C.² ἐνετρέφοντο Coraes. εὐ ἐτρέφοντο A.C.

But beside these there were ten stalls for horses on each side of the ship ; and next them was the storage-place for the horses' food, and the belongings of the riders and their slaves. There was also a water-tank at the bow, which was kept covered and had a capacity of twenty thousand gallons ; it was constructed of planks, caulked with pitch and covered with tarpaulins. By its side was built a fish-tank enclosed with lead and planks ; this was filled with sea-water, and many fish were kept in it. On both sides of the ship were projecting beams, at proper intervals apart ; on these were constructed receptacles for wood, ovens, kitchens, handmills, and several other utensils. Outside, a row of colossi, nine feet high, ran round the ship ; these supported the upper weight and the triglyph, all standing at proper intervals apart. And the whole ship was adorned with appropriate paintings. There were also eight turrets on it, of a size proportional to the weight of the ship ; two at the stern, an equal number at the bow, and the rest amidships. To each of these two cranes were made fast, and over them portholes were built, through which stones could be hurled at an enemy sailing underneath. Upon each of the turrets were mounted four sturdy men in full armour, and two archers. The whole interior of the turrets was full of stones and missiles. A wall with battlements and decks athwart the ship was built on supports , on this stood a stone-hurler, which could shoot by its own power a stone weighing one hundred and eighty pounds or a javelin eighteen feet long.

³ τρόποι Schweighauser τρόποι A τόποι C.

⁴ συμμέτρω added by Memekē.

⁵ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Dindorf ἀπ' αὐτοῦ A

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βέλος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μηχάνημα κατεσκεύασεν Ἀρχιμήδης. ἐκάτερον δὲ τῶν βελῶν ἔβαλλεν ἐπὶ στάδιον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραρρύματα¹ ἐκ τροπῶν² παχέων συγκείμενα διὰ ἀλύσεων χαλκῶν
d κρεμάμενα. τριῶν δὲ ἵστων ὑπαρχόντων ἔξι ἐκάστου κεραῖαι λιθοφόροι ἔξηρτηντο β', ἔξι ὥν ἄρπαγές τε καὶ πλίνθοι μολίβου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους ἡφίεντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ χάραξ κύκλῳ τῆς νεώς σιδηροῦς³ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀναβαίνειν κόρακές τε σιδηροῦ κύκλῳ τῆς νεώς, οἱ δι' ὅργανων ἀφιέμενοι τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκράτουν σκάφη καὶ παρέβαλλον εἰς πληγὴν ἐκατέρω δὲ τῶν τούχων ἔξηρκοντα νεανίσκοι πανοπλίας ἔχοντες ἐφειστή-
e κεσαν καὶ τούτοις ἵσοι περὶ τε τοὺς ἴστοὺς καὶ τὰς λιθοφόρους κεραίας ἦσαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἴστοὺς ἐν τοῖς καρχηστοῖς οὖσι χαλκοῖς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τρεῖς ἄνδρες, εἴθ' ἔξῆς καθ' ἕνα λειπόμενοι· τούτοις δ' ἐν πλεκτοῖς γυργάθοις διὰ τροχιλιῶν⁴ εἰς τὰ θωράκια λίθοι παρεβάλλοντο καὶ βέλη διὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἄγκυραι δὲ ἦσαν ξύλιναι μὲν τέτταρες, σιδηραῖ δ' ὀκτώ τῶν δὲ ἴστων δ' μὲν δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος εὐρέθησαν εὐχερῶς,⁵ δυσχερῶς δὲ δ' πρῶτος εὐρέθη ἐν τοῖς δ' ὅρεσι τῆς Βρεττίας⁶ ὑπὸ συβώτου ἄνδρος· κατήγαγε δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν Φιλέας δ' Ταυρομενίτης μηχανικός. ἦ δὲ ἀντλία καίπερ βάθος ὑπερβάλλον ἔχουσα δι' ἐνὸς ἄνδρὸς ἔξηρτλεῖτο διὰ κοχλίου,

¹ παραρρύματα Casaubon παρατρήματα A.

² τροπῶν Casaubon. τρόπων A.

³ σιδηροῦς Kaihel. σιδήρου A: σιδήρεος C.

⁴ τροχιλιῶν A cf Plato, Rep. 397a.

⁵ εὐχερῶς added by Dalechamp.

⁶ Βρεττίας Casaubon. βρετανίας AC.

This engine was constructed by Archimedes. Either one of these missiles could be hurled six hundred feet. After this came leather curtains ^a joined together, suspended to thick beams by means of bronze chains. The ship carried three masts, from each of which two stone-hurling cranes were suspended ; from them grappling hooks and lumps of lead could also be directed against assailants. An iron paling which encircled the ship also protected it against any who attempted to climb aboard ; also grappling-crane ^b of iron were all about the ship, which, operated by machinery, could lay hold of the enemy's hulls and bring them alongside where they would be exposed to blows. Sixty sturdy men in full armour mounted guard on each side of the ship, and a number equal to these manned the masts and stone-hurlers. Also at the masts, on the mast-heads (which were of bronze), men were posted, three on the foremast, two in the maintop and one on the mizzenmast ^c; these were kept supplied by the slaves with stones and missiles carried aloft in wicker baskets to the crow's-nests by means of pulleys. There were four anchors of wood, eight of iron. The trees for the mainmast and mizzenmast were easily found, but that for the foremast was discovered with difficulty by a swineherd in the mountains of the Bruttii, it was hauled down to the coast by the engineer Phileas of Tauromenium. The bilge-water, even when it became very deep, could easily be pumped out by one man with the aid of the screw, an invention

^a To protect the upper tiers of rowers.

^b Different from the *ἀρταγές* before mentioned ; see Polybius, i. 22 ; Diodorus, xvii. 44

^c lit. " less by one each successively."

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’Αρχιμήδους ἔξευρόντος. ὅνομα δ’ ἦν τῇ νηὶ Συρακοσίᾳ· ὅτε δ’ αὐτὴν ἔξέπεμπεν Ἱέρων, ’Αλεξανδρίδα αὐτὴν μετωνόμασεν. ἐφόλκια δ’ ἥσαν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κέρκουρος τρισχίλια τάλαντα δέχεσθαι δυνάμενος· πᾶς δ’ ἦν οὗτος ἐπίκωπος. μεθ’ ὃν χίλια πεντακόσια βαστάζουσαι ἀλιάδες τε καὶ σκάφαι πλείους. ὅχλος δ’ ἦν οὐκ ἐλάττων. . . .¹ μετὰ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄλλοι τε² ἔξακόσιοι παρὰ τὴν πρῷραν ἐπιτηροῦντες τὰ 209 παραγγελλόμενα. τῶν δὲ κατὰ ναῦν ἀδικημάτων δικαστήριον καθειστήκει ναύκληρος, κυβερνήτης καὶ πρῷρεύς, οἵπερ ἐδίκαζον κατὰ τοὺς Συρακοσίων νόμους.

Σίτουν δὲ ἐνεβάλλοντο εἰς τὴν ναῦν μυριάδας ἔξι, ταρίχων δὲ Σικελικῶν κεράμια μύρια, ἐρεῶν³ τάλαντα δισμύρια, καὶ ἔτερα δὲ φορτία δισμύρια. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁ ἐπισιτισμὸς ἦν τῶν ἐμπλεόντων. b ὁ δ’ Ἱέρων ἐπεὶ πάντας τοὺς λιμένας ἤκουεν τοὺς μὲν ὡς οὐ δύνατοί εἰσι τὴν ναῦν δέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπικινδύνους ὑπάρχειν, διέγυνω δῶρον αὐτὴν ἀποστεῖλαι Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ γὰρ ἦν σπάνις σίτου κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ ἡ ναῦς κατήχθη εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἔνθα καὶ ἐνεωλικήθη. ὁ δ’ Ἱέρων καὶ Ἀρχίμηλον τὸν τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητὴν γράψαντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐπίγραμμα χιλίους πυρῶν μεδίμνοις, οὓς καὶ παρέπεμψεν ἵδιοις δαπανήμασιν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐτίμησεν. ἔχει δ’ οὕτως τὸ ἐπίγραμμα.

¹ A numeral has been lost. *

² τε Meineke. γε A

³ ερεῶν Schweighauser. ἐρεων A.

of Archimedes. The ship was named 'Syracusia'^a; but when Hieron sent her forth, he changed the name to 'Alexandris.'^b The boats which it had in tow were first a pinnace of three thousand talents^c burden; this was propelled entirely by oars. After this came fishing-boats of fifteen hundred talents burden, and several cutters besides. The numbers composing the crew were not less than . . .^d Next to these just mentioned there were six hundred more men at the bow ready to carry out orders. For any crimes committed on board there was a court composed of the skipper, pilot, and officer at the bow, who gave judgement in accordance with the laws of Syracuse.

"On board were loaded ninety thousand bushels of grain, ten thousand jars of Sicilian salt-fish, six hundred tons of wool, and other freight amounting to six hundred tons. Quite apart from this was the provisioning of the crew. But when Hieron began to get reports of all the harbours, either that they could not receive his ship at all, or that great danger to the ship was involved, he determined to send it as a present to King Ptolemy at Alexandria; for there was in fact a scarcity of grain throughout Egypt. And so he did; and the ship was brought to Alexandria, where it was pulled up on shore. Hieron also honoured Archimelus, the poet who had written an epigram celebrating the vessel, with fifteen hundred bushels of wheat, which he shipped at his own expense to Peiraeus. The epigram runs as

^a lit. "Lady of Syracuse."

^b lit. "Lady of Alexandria."

^c About 90 tons.

^d See critical note.

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- c τίς τόδε σέλμα πέλωρον ἐπὶ χθονὸς εῖσατο; ποῖος
 κοίρανος ἀκαμάτοις πείσμασιν ἡγάγετο;
 πῶς δὲ κατὰ δρυόχων ἐπάγη σανίς, ἢ τίνι γόμφοι
 τμηθέντες πελέκει τοῦτ' ἔκαμον τὸ κύτος,
 ἢ κορυφαῖς Αἴτνας παρισουύμενον ἢ τινι νάσων
 ἃς Αἰγαῖον ὅδωρ Κυκλάδας ἐνδέδεται,
 τοίχοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἴσοπλατές, ἢ ῥά Γίγαντες
- d τοῦτο πρὸς οὐρανίας ἔξεσαν ἀτραπιτούς.
 ἄστρων γὰρ φαύει καρχήσια καὶ τριελίκτους
 θώρακας μεγάλων ἐντὸς ἔχει νεφέων.
 πείσμασι δ' ἀγκύρας ἀπερείδεται οὖσιν Ἀβύδου
 Ξέρξης καὶ Σηστοῦ δισσὸν ἔδησε πόρον.
 μανύει στιβαρᾶς κατ' ἐπωμίδος ἀρτιχάρακτον
 γράμμα, τίς ἐκ χέρσου τάνδ' ἐκύλισε τρόπιν
 φατὶ¹ γὰρ ὡς Ιέρων Ιεροκλέος Ἐλλάδι πάσᾳ
- e καὶ νάσοις καρπὸν² πίονα δωροφορῶν,³
 Σικελίας σκαπτοῦχος ὁ Δωρικός. ἀλλά, Πό-
 σειδον,
 σῳζει κατὰ⁴ γλαυκῶν σέλμα τόδε ῥοθίων ”

Παρέλιπον⁵ δ' ἕκὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν
 τριήρη, ἢ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοὺς
 περὶ Λευκολλαν τῆς Κώας, ὅπου δὴ⁶ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλ-
 λωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν· ἦτις οὐδὲ τὸ τρίτον, τάχα δὲ
 οὐδὲ τὸ τέταρτον εἶχε τῆς Συρακοσίας ἢ Ἀλεξα-
 δρίδος ταύτης νεώς.

¹ φατὶ Schweighauser · φασὶ A: φησὶ C.

² καρπὸν Casaubon καρπῶν A.

³ δωροφορῶν Casaubon : δωροφόρον A. δωροφόρων C.

⁴ κατὰ AC · διὰ Kabel

⁵ παρέλιπον Musurus παρέλειπον A.

⁶ ὅπου δὴ Meineke: ἐπειδὴ A.

follows. ‘Who hath set these giant timbers on the ground? What mighty master hath hauled them with untiring cables? How was the flooring fixed to the ribs of oak, or by what axe hewn did rivets make this hollow mass, matching in height the peaks of Aetna, or stretching with walls on both sides broad as one of the isles which Aegean waters bind together in the Cyclades? Verily the Giants have planed these timbers to traverse the paths of Heaven. For its mastheads touch the stars, and it hides its three-ply bulwarks ^a within the mighty clouds. Its anchors are secured with such cables as those with which Xerxes bound together the twin passage of Abydos and Sestos. Letters freshly charactered on its stout prow reveal who it was that sent forth this keel from the dry land; for they declare that it was Hieron, son of Hierocles, bearing gifts of a rich harvest to all Hellas and the isles, wielder of the sceptre of Sicily, the Dorian. Nay then, Poseidon, guide this bark homeward over the blue surging sea.’’

I ^b have intentionally omitted the sacred trireme of Antigonus,^c in which he defeated Ptolemy’s generals off Leucolla, in Cos, where, in fact, he dedicated it to Apollo; for this trireme could not contain a third or perhaps not even a fourth of the “Syracusia” or “Alexandris,” the ship of Hieron’s just described

^a Apparently meaning the turrets (208 b) built with three layers of timber. ^b Masurius, 196 a.

^c Antigonus Gonatas is meant. The date of the battle is placed ca. 265 b.c. by Niese, *Gesch d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, II. 131, ca. 256 b.c. by Kaerst in *Pauly-Wissowa*, I. 2415. Plutarch 545 b shows that Κύπρος in Athenaeus is not a mistake for Κύπρου, as older editors thought.

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Τοσαῦτ' οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου
 f οὐκ ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀρξάμενοι κατελέξαμεν, ἀλλ'
 ἀπὸ πανηγυρικῶν πομπῶν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν καλὸν
 Οὐλπιανὸν οἶδα πάλιν προβαλοῦντα¹ ἡμῖν τίς αὕτη
 ἡ παρὰ τῷ Καλλιξείνῳ ἐγγυθήκη, φαμὲν αὐτῷ ὅτι
 καὶ λόγος τις εἰς Λυσίαν ἀναφέρεται τὸν ρήτορα
 περὶ ἐγγυθήκης ἐπιγραφόμενος, οὐδὲ ἡ ἀρχή· “εἰ
 μὲν δίκαιον ἔλεγεν ἡ μέτριον, ἄνδρες δικασταί,
 Λυσιμένης.” ἐν ᾧ προελθών φησιν “οὐκ ἀν
 ἐσπούδαζον περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐγγυθήκης δικαιο-
 λογεῖσθαι, ἡ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξία τριάκοντα δραχμῶν.”
 210 ὅτι δὲ χαλκῇ ἦν ἡ ἐγγυθήκη ἔξῆς φησι· “πέρυσιν
 δὲ ἐπισκευάσαι αὐτὴν βουλόμενος ἔξεδωκα εἰς τὸ
 χαλκεῖον· ἔστι γάρ συνθετὴ καὶ Σατύρων ἔχει
 πρόσωπα καὶ βουκεφάλια. . . . ἄλλο ἔτι μέγεθος
 τὸ αὐτό δ γὰρ αὐτὸς τεχνίτης πολλὰ σκεύη ταῦτα
 καὶ ὅμοια ἔργαζεται” ἐν τούτοις δ Λυσίας εἰ-
 πὼν ὅτι καὶ χαλκῇ ἦν ἡ ἐγγυθήκη, σαφῶς παρίστη-
 σιν, ὡς καὶ δ Καλλίξεινος εἴρηκε, λεβήτων αὐτὰς
 ὑποθήματα εἶναι. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ Πολέμων δ περι-
 b ηγητῆς εἶπεν ἐν γ' τῶν πρὸς Ἀδαίον καὶ Ἀντί-
 γονον ἔξηγούμενος διάθεσιν ἐν Φλιοῦντι κατὰ τὴν
 πολεμάρχειον στοὰν γεγραμμένην ὑπὸ Σίλλακος
 τοῦ Ἐργάνου, οὐδὲ μημονεύουσιν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ
 Σιμωνίδης, λέγων οὕτως· “ἐγγυθήκη καὶ ἐπ’
 αὐτῆς κύπελλον.” Ἡγήσανδρος δὲ δ Νείλος ἐν

¹ προβαλοῦντα Casaubon · προσβαλοῦντα A.

“ Borrowing his title from the last part of *Iliad* II. (484-877), “ Catalogue of the Ships,” in which the Achaeans sailed to Troy. It began with the Boeotians.

“ Above, 199 c, a stand or sideboard for holding vessels is meant.

So much, then, have we enumerated concerning the "Catalogue of Ships,"^a beginning not with the Boeotians, but with great festival processions. And since I am sure that our noble Ulpian will again propound us a question as to what is that "vessel-stand" mentioned by Callixeinus,^b I answer him that there is even a speech ascribed to the orator Lysias, entitled *On the Vessel-stand*,^c beginning : "If, gentlemen of the court, Lysimenes were maintaining any just or reasonable claim." Proceeding further in the speech he says . "I should not be so concerned to argue about the vessel-stand itself, for that is not worth thirty shillings." That the stand was of bronze he declares further . "Last year I wished to have it repaired, and I sent it out to the bronze-foundry ; for it is made up of different parts, and it has the faces of Satyrs, and the heads of bulls worked on it . . . There is another one of the same size . For the same maker manufactures many articles of furniture in the same or similar style." In this passage Lysias mentions that the vessel-stand was of bronze, and so clearly shows, as Callixeinus also has said, that they are supports for cauldrons. In the same way, in fact, Polemon the Geographer also has spoken of it ; in the third book of his work, *Address to Adaeus and Antigonus*,^d he describes the subject of a picture painted on the wall of the Polemarch's portico at Phlius ; it was by Sillax of Rhegium, who is mentioned by Epicharmus^e and Simonides.^f Polemon says : "a vessel-stand, and upon it a cup." And Hegesander of Delphi, in

^a Frag. 91 Turnebus.
^b Kaibel 120.

^c Frag. 58 Preller.
^f P.L.G⁴ iii. frag. 194.

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τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ὑπομνήματι ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἄγαλμάτων Γλαύκου φησὶ τοῦ Χίου τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπόστημα οἷον ἐγγυθήκην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν, ἀνάθημα
 c Ἀλυάττου· οὐδὲν δὲ Ἡρόδοτος μνημονεύει ὑποκρητηρίδιον αὐτὸν καλῶν. καὶ δὲ μὲν¹ Ἡγήσανδρος ταῦτα λέγει. εἴδομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς θέας ἄξιον διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντετορευμένα² ζωδάρια καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ζωύφια καὶ φυτάρια, ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενα καὶ κρατῆρας καὶ ἄλλα σκεύη. ή δὲ³ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρέων καλουμένη ἀγγοθήκη τρίγωνός ἐστι, κατὰ μέσον κοίλη, δέχεσθαι δυναμένη ἐντιθέμενον κεράμιον. ἔχουσι δὲ ταύτην οἱ μὲν πένητες ἔυλίνην, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι χαλκῆν ἢ ἀργυρᾶν.

Eἰπόντες οὖν περὶ ἐγγυθήκης ἔξῆς πάλιν μνησθησόμεθα φιλοδείπνων βασιλέων. δὲ γάρ τῷ προ-
 d ειρημένῳ Ἀντιόχῳ διώνυμος βασιλεύς, Δημητρίου δὲ⁴ νίός, ὡς ἴστορει Ποσειδώνιος, ὑποδοχὰς ποιούμενος καθ' ἡμέραν δύχλικὰς χωρὶς τῶν ἀναλισκομένων σωρευμάτων³ ἐκάστω ἀποφέρειν ἐδίδου τῶν ἐστιατόρων ὄλομελῇ κρέα χερσαίων τε καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ θαλαττίων ζώων ἀδιαιρετα ἐσκευασμένα, ἅμαξαν πληρῶσαι δυνάμενα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μελιπήκτων καὶ στεφάνων ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ σὺν ἀνδρομήκεσι λημνίσκων χρυσῶν πιλή-
 e μασι⁴ πλήθη. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ Ἀντίοχος βασιλεὺς

¹ μὲν added by Dobree.

² ἐντετορευμένα Schweighauser: ἐντετορευμένα A.

³ σωρευμάτων Athen 540 c. σωρεύματα AC.

⁴ χρυσῶν πιλήμασι 540 c: πιλήμασι χρυσοῖς A.

the commentary entitled *Statues of Men and of Gods*^a says that the stand in Delphi made by Glaucus of Chios is a kind of vessel-stand of iron dedicated by Alyattes; it is mentioned by Herodotus,^b who calls it a “bowl-stand.” This, then, is what Hegesander says of it. But I too have seen it where it stands as an offering in Delphi, truly worth seeing on account of the figures of insects worked in relief upon it, as well as other tiny creatures and plants; it is capable of holding upon it mixing-bowls and other vessels besides. But that which Alexandrians call “vessel-holder” is triangular, hollow in the middle, so that it can receive a jar placed inside it. The poor have one of wood; the rich, of bronze or silver.

Having, then, discussed the vessel-stand, I will next mention again kings who have been dinner-devotees. To begin with the king who bore the same name as the Antiochus before mentioned,^c and who was the son of Demetrius Poseidomus records^d that he held receptions daily to great crowds; and not counting the heaps of food there consumed, he allowed every one of the feasters to carry home uncarved meat of land-animals, fowls, and creatures of the sea prepared whole, and capable of filling a cart; and after all that, quantities of honey-cakes and wreaths of myrrh and frankincense with matted fillets of gold as long as a man. And another king

^a F.H.G. iv. 421; in the title ἄγαλμα is properly distinguished from ἀνδρίας, though ἄγαλμα may sometimes mean the statue of a man.

^b 1. 25.

^c Epiphanes, 193 d-195 f.

^d F.H.G. iii.^{*} 257, the Seleucidae here mentioned are Antiochus Sidetes, son of Demetrius I Soter, and Antiochus Grypus, son of Demetrius II Nicator.

ATHENAEUS

ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς ἐν Δάφνῃ ἀγῶνας ἐποιήσατο καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποδοχὰς λαμπράς, ὡς δὲ αὐτός φησι Ποσειδώνιος· “τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἀναδόσεις ἐποιήσατο κατ’ ἄνδρα ὀλομελῶν βρωμάτων, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ζώντων χηνῶν καὶ² λαγωῶν καὶ δορκάδων. ἀνεδίδοντο δὲ καὶ χρυσοῖ στέφανοι τοῖς δειπνοῦσι καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ ἵππων καὶ καμήλων. καὶ ἔδει ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὴν κάμηλον πιεῖν ἔκαστον καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν³ κάμηλον καὶ τὸν παρεστῶτα παῖδα.”—

“καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν δὲ πάντες, φησί, διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας εὐβοσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τάναγκαῖα κακοπαθείας συνόδους ἔνεμον πλείους ἵνα εὐωχοῦντο συνεχῶς, τοῖς μὲν γυμνασίοις ὡς βαλανείοις χρώμενοι, ἀλειφόμενοι⁴ ἐλαίῳ πολυτελεῖ καὶ μύροις, τοῖς δὲ γραμματείοις—οὕτως γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν συνδείπνων—ὡς οἰκητηρίοις ἐνδιαιτώμενοι, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας γαστριζόμενοι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἴνοις καὶ βρώμασιν, ὥστε καὶ προσαποφέρειν πολλά, καὶ καταυλούμενοι πρὸς χελωνίδος⁵ πολυκρότου ψόφους, ὥστε τὰς πόλεις δῆλας τοῖς τοιούτοις κελάδοις συνηχεῖσθαι.”

211 ‘Επαινῶ δ’ ἐγώ, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ γενόμενον παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Συρίας συμπόσιον. δὲ δ’ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ὢν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ

¹ δὲ added by Schweighauser.

² καὶ added from Athen. 540 b.

³ κάμηλον . . τὴν added from 540 b.

⁴ δὲ after ἀλειφόμενοι deleted by Meineke.

⁵ χελωνίδος 527 f: χελιδόνος AC

Antiochus,^a when he celebrated the games at Daphne, also held brilliant receptions, according to the same Poseidonius^b: "At the beginning he made distributions, man by man, of uncarved meat; afterwards of live geese, hares, and gazelles. There were also distributed to the diners gold wreaths and a great quantity of silver vessels, slaves, horses, and camels. And it was the duty of each man, after mounting his camel, to drink a toast and accept the camel and everything upon it as well as the attending slave."—"And all the people of Syria," Poseidonius says,^c "because of the great plenty which their land afforded were relieved of any distress regarding the necessaries of life; hence they held many gatherings in order to feast continually, using the gymnasia as mere baths in which they anointed themselves with expensive oil and perfumes, and living in the 'bonds'^d—for this is the name by which they called the commons where the diners met—as though they were their private houses, and filling their bellies in them, during the greater part of the day, with wines and foods, even taking many things home besides; delighting their ears with sounds from a loudly-struck harp, so that the towns rang throughout with such noises."

But I^e commend, my friends, the symposium held in the palace of Alexander, the king of Syria. This Alexander^f was son of Antiochus Epiphanes—pre-

^a Antiochus Grypus, Athen. 540 a-c.

^b F.H.G. iii. 263.

^c F.H.G. iii. 258.

^d γραμματεῖον may mean a legal document of any kind. Here the word may refer to the letters (*γράμματα*) by which the several assembly-rooms were possibly designated.

^e Masurius

^f Alexander Balas.

ATHENAEUS

¹ Επιφανοῦς υἱὸς ὑποβληθείσ, . . διὸ¹ εἶχον μῖσος πάντες ἄνθρωποι εἰς Δημήτριον περὶ οὗ ἵστορησεν ὁ ἔταῖρος ἡμῶν Ἀθήναιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλευσάντων. τὸ οὖν συμπόσιον τοῦτο τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο. Διογένης δὲ Ἐπικούρειος, ἔξιν ἔχων ἴκανήν ἐν οἷς μετεχειρίζετο λόγοις, τὸ
 b μὲν γένος ἦν ἐκ Σελευκείας τῆς ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ,² ἀποδοχῆς³ δὲ ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ⁴ καίτοι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς λόγοις χαίροντι. ἐπολυώρει οὖν αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος καίπερ ὅντα τῷ βίῳ φαῦλον, ἔτι δὲ βλάσφημον καὶ βάσκανον ἔνεκά τε τοῦ γελοίου μηδὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἀπεχόμενον.⁵ καὶ αἰτησαμένῳ αὐτῷ φιλοσοφίας ἀλλοτρίαν αἰτησιν, ὅπως πορφυροῦν τε χιτωνίσκον φορήσει καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἔχοντα πρόσωπον Ἀρετῆς κατὰ μέσον, ἃς ἱερεὺς ἡξίου προσαγορεύεσθαι, συνεχώρησε καὶ τὸν στέφανον προσχαρισάμενος. ἄπερ δὲ Διογένης ἔρασθείς τινος λυσιωδοῦ γυναικὸς c ἔχαρισατο αὐτῇ. ἀκούσας δὲ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ συνάγων φιλοσόφων καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν συμπόσιον ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὸν Διογένη καὶ παραγενόμενον ἡξίου κατακλίνεσθαι ἔχοντα τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα. ἄκαιρον δὲ εἶναι εἰπόντος νεύσας

¹ διὸ (“wherefore”) here can hardly be right, unless it = διόπι (“because”): δι’ δν Kaibel, which does not accord with the reasons given by Josephus for the hatred of Demetrius. The hanging nominative shows that there is a gap

² Βαβυλωνίᾳ Kaibel, comparing Strabo 744. Βαβυλῶνι A.

³ ἀποδοχῆς Schweighauser. ανοδοχης A.

⁴ τῷ βασιλεῖ Villebrun: τοῦ βασιλέως A.

⁵ ἀπεχόμενον Musurus: ἀποδεχόμενον A.

^a i.e. “foisted upon Antiochus because,” etc. See critical note, and cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 3. “They hated Demetrius

tended son . . . wherefore ^a the whole world cherished hatred against Demetrius ; concerning him our comrade Athenaeus has made record in his work *On the Kings of Syria* ^b This symposium, then, was held somewhat in the following wise : The Epicurean philosopher Diogenes, who had considerable command of the doctrines which he professed, was by birth a native of Seleuceia in Babylonia, and he used to obtain a welcome at the court in spite of the fact that the king delighted in the doctrines of the Stoics. Well, Alexander paid him high regard, although he lived a depraved life, and moreover had a slanderous and bitter tongue, not even sparing the royal house if he could provoke a laugh. And once he made request of a favour, strange for a philosopher, that he might wear a purple tunic and a gold crown bearing in the middle the face of Virtue, whose priest he demanded that he should be called ; the king granted this, even adding the crown as a special gift. Then Diogenes, falling in love with an actress who played male rôles,^c presented these very things to her. Alexander heard of this, and getting together a dinner-party of philosophers and distinguished men, he summoned also Diogenes ; when he arrived, the king demanded that he take his place on the couch with the crown and the dress given to him. Diogenes replied that that was

because of his arrogance and lack of affability "(1 *Macc.* x.). Of humble origin, Alexander Balas bore an extraordinary likeness to a son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and, aided by Attalus II of Pergamum, won the throne of Antiochus in 150 b.c. He was killed in battle and succeeded by Demetrius (II Nicator) here mentioned, 146 b.c.

^a F.H.G. iii 656, and Introduction, Vol. i. p. ix.

^b For λυσιψόδοῦ, "Lysis-singer," see 182 c, note b (p. 305).

ATHENAEUS

εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὰ ἀκούσματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ
 ἡ λυσιωδὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐστεφανωμένη τὸν τῆς
 Ἀρετῆς στέφανον, ἐνδῦσα καὶ τὴν πορφυρᾶν
 ἐσθῆτα γέλωτος οὖν πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος ἔμενεν¹
 δὲ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὴν λυσιωδὸν ἐπαινῶν οὐκ
 δὲ ἐπάνσατο. τοῦτον τὸν Διογένη ὁ μεταλαβὼν τὴν
 βασιλείαν Ἀντίοχος, οὐκ ἐνέγκας αὐτοῦ τὴν
 κακολογίαν, ἀποσφαγῆναι ἐκέλευσεν ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ-
 ανδρος προσηνῆς ἦν² ἐν πᾶσι καὶ φιλόλογος ἐν
 ταῖς δόμιλίαις καὶ οὐχ ὅμοιος Ἀθηνίων τῷ
 περιπατητικῷ φιλοσόφῳ, τῷ καὶ διατριβῆς προ-
 στάντι φιλοσόφου Ἀθήνησί τε καὶ ἐν Μεσσηνῇ,
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν Λαρίσῃ τῆς Θετταλίας, καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως τυραννήσαντι. περὶ
 οὗ καθ' ἕκαστα ἴστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ Ἀπαμεύς,
 ἃπερ εἰ καὶ μακρότερά ἐστιν ἐκθήσομαι, ἵν
 εἴ πιμελῶς πάντας ἔξετάζωμεν τοὺς φάσκοντας
 εἶναι φιλοσόφους καὶ μὴ τοῖς τριβωνίοις καὶ τοῖς
 ἀκάρτοις πώγωσι πιστεύωμεν. κατὰ γάρ τὸν
 Ἀγάθωνα

εἰ μὲν φράσω τάληθές, οὐχί σ' εὐφρανῶ.
 εἰ δὲ εὐφρανῶ τί σ', οὐχὶ τάληθές φράσω.

ἀλλὰ φίλη γάρ,³ φασίν, ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἐκθήσομαι τὰ
 περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ἐγένετο.

Ἐν τῇ Ἐρυμνέως τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ σχολῆ
 διέτριβε τις Ἀθηνίων προσκαρτερῶν τοῖς λόγοις.

¹ Some word like ἀκίνητος, “undisturbed,” seems lacking.

² προσηνῆς ἦν Musurus: προσῆν A.

³ γάρ added by Meineke.

“ See critical note.

inconvenient ; whereupon the king with a nod bade the entertainers to be brought in, and among them was the actress of male rôles, crowned with the crown of Virtue, and clad in the purple tunic. A loud burst of laughter broke forth, but Diogenes never stirred,^a but praised the actress without ceasing. Antiochus,^b who succeeded to the kingdom, would not tolerate the abusive manners of this Diogenes, and ordered his throat to be cut. But Alexander was gentle in all circumstances, and in his conversation fond of literary subjects ; and he was not like Athenion, the Peripatetic philosopher, who had been the head of a philosophic school at Athens and in Messene and again at Larisa, in Thessaly, and afterwards usurped rule over the city of Athens. Concerning him Poseidonius of Apamea records detailed information which, though rather long, I will set forth, because I wish to scrutinize carefully all who profess to be philosophers and not put faith merely in their ragged coats and unshorn beards. For, as Agathon^c says . “ If I speak sooth, I shall not give thee joy ; but if I give thee joy in any wise, I shall not speak sooth.” But surely, as they say, truth is dear ; and I will set forth the story of the man as it occurred.^d

“ To the school of the Peripatetic Erymneus resorted a man named Athenion, who devoted himself sedulously to the philosopher’s doctrines.

^a Antiochus VI Epiphanes, who reigned for four years over part of his father Alexander’s kingdom.

^b T.G.F.² 766.

^c F.H.G. iii 266 , the name of this upstart was Aristion, not Athenion, according to Plut. *Sulla*, ch. xii. *passim*, *Moral.* 809 e. Cf. Appian, *Mith.* xxviii. (who may have read Poseidonius); Paus. i 20. 3; Strab. 398.

ATHENAEUS

δστις Αἰγυπτίαν ὡνησάμενος θεράπαιναν ἐπε-
 f πλέκετο αὐτῇ ταύτης οὖν παῖς¹ εἴτ' ἔξ αὐτοῦ
 τεκούσης, εἴτ' ἔξ ἄλλου τινός, διμώνυμος Ἀθηνίων
 τῷ δεσπότῃ παρετρέφετο. γράμματα δὲ μαθὼν
 καὶ πρεσβύτην γενόμενον τὸν δεσπότην μετὰ τῆς
 μητρὸς ἔχειραγώγει καὶ ἀποθανόντα² κληρο-
 νομήσας παρέγγυραφος Ἀθηναίων πολίτης ἐγένετο.
 γήμας τε παιδισκάριον εὔμορφον μετὰ τούτου
 πρὸς τὸ σοφιστεύειν ὅρμησε μειράκια σχολαστικὰ
 θηρεύων. καὶ σοφιστεύσας ἐν Μεσσήνῃ καν
 212 Λαρίσῃ τῇ Θετταλικῇ καὶ πολλὰ ἐργασάμενος
 χρήματα ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ χειρο-
 τονιθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβευτής, ὅτε
 εἰς Μιθριδάτην τὰ πράγματα μετέρρει, ὑποδραμῶν
 τὸν βασιλέα τῶν φίλων εἰς ἐγένετο, μεγίστης
 τυχῶν προαγωγῆς. διόπερ μετεώριζε τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους δι' ἐπιστολῶν ὡς τὰ μέγιστα παρὰ
 τῷ Καππαδόκῃ δυνάμενος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον
 τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ὀφλημάτων ἀπολυθέντας ἐν
 διμονοίᾳ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀνα-
 κτησαμένους, καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων τυχεῖν ιδίᾳ
 b καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεκόμπουν
 τὴν Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν καταλελύσθαι πεπιστευ-
 κότες. ηδη οὖν τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβεβλημένης ὁ
 Ἀθηνίων ἐπανῆγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὑπὸ
 χειμῶνος ἐνοχληθεὶς εἰς τὴν Καρυστίαν κατ-
 ηγέχθη. τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ Κεκροπίδαι ἐπεμψαν

¹ παῖς added by Kaibel: παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ σόνj. by Meyer
 after τινός. ² ἀποθανόντα A: ἀποθανόντος C.

Having purchased an Egyptian slave-girl, he lay with her. A son of this woman, whom she bore either by Athenion or by someone else, but named after Athenion, was brought up in her master's house. He was taught to read, and when the master grew old he used to lead him by the hand in company with his mother ; when the elder Athenion died, the younger became his heir, and was illegally enrolled as a citizen of Athens. He then married a pretty wench, by whose aid he hunted up lads to form a school, and began to practise the profession of a sophist ; and after a career as sophist in Messene and at Larisa, in Thessaly, he amassed a considerable fortune and returned to Athens. He was then elected an ambassador by the Athenians at the time when their interests were inclining to the side of Mithradates,^a and insinuating himself in the king's good graces he became one of his intimates, receiving the highest promotion. Wherefore he began through letters to unsettle the Athenians with false hopes, as though he possessed the greatest influence with the Cappadocian monarch—an influence which would enable them not only to live in peace and concord, freed from the fines in which they were mulcted, but even to recover their democratic constitution and receive large doles individually and as a community. All this the Athenians were loudly boasting, convinced that the Roman rule had been completely overthrown. When, then, Asia Minor had gone over to the king, Athenion began his return to Athens, but bothered by foul weather he put in to Carystia. When the Cecropids^b learned

^a ca 87-86 b.c., during the first Mithradatic War.

^b Ironical for Athenians.

ATHENAEUS

ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦς μακρὰς καὶ φορεῖσιν ἄργυρόπουν. ἀλλ' εἴσεισιν¹ ἥδη, καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔξεκέχυτο· συνέτρεχον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι θεαταὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς τύχης θαυμάζοντες, εἰ δὲ παρέγγραφος Ἀθηνίων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπ' ἀγυρυρόποδος κατακομίζεται φορείου καὶ πορφυρῶν στρωμάτων, ὁ μηδέποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίβωνος ἑωρακὼς πορφύραν πρότερον,² οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοιαύτῃ φαντασίᾳ καταχλιδῶντος τῆς Ἀττικῆς. συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς τὴν θέαν ταύτην ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, παῖδες, τὰ κάλλιστα προσδοκῶντες παρὰ Μιθριδάτου, ὅπότε Ἀθηνίων ὁ πένης καὶ τὰς ἔρανικὰς ποιησάμενος ἀκροάσεις διὰ τὸν βασιλέα σιληπορδῶν διὰ τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεως πομπεύει. ὑπήντησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ νέου Διονύσου καλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν κοιτὴν ἔστιαν καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτην εὐχάριτες καὶ σπουδάσις ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἐκ μισθωτῆς οἰκίας ἔξιὼν εἰς τὴν διευσ οἰκίαν³ τοῦ τότε πλουτοῦντος ἀνθρώπου ταῖς ἐκ Δήλου προσόδοις εἰσηγέχθη, κεκοσμημένην στρωμναῖς τε καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι⁴ καὶ ἄργυρωμάτων ἐκθέσει. ἀφ' ησ ἔξηρι χλαμύδα λαμπρὰν ἐπισύρων καὶ περικείμενος δακτύλιον χρυσίον εἶγγεγλυμμένην ἔχοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου εἰκόνα.

¹ ἀλλ' εἴσεισιν Casaubon: ἀλλησεισιν A.

² ὁ μηδέποτε . . πρότερον suspected, but the style of the whole passage is extraordinary for prose, cf. ἀλλ' εἴσεισιν above, and the asyndeton (recalling tragedy) in ἄνδρες . . παῖδες below.

³ διεύσοικιαν A: Διεύχον οἰκίαν, “house of Dieuches” Schweighauser.

⁴ ἀνδριᾶσι Casaubon. ἀνδράσι A.

that, they sent war-galleys and a litter with silver supports to bring him home. But now he is coming in¹ More than half the population of the town, nearly, poured out to take part in welcoming him ; many others joined the running crowd as sight-seers, marvelling at the incredible turn of fortune, that this upstart Athenion^a should be conveyed back to Athens on a gold-footed litter and purple rugs—he, who in the earlier days of his ragged coat had never seen purple ; and what is more, no Roman had ever insulted Attica by luxuriating in such display And so they joined the running crowd to see this sight—men, women, children, with highest expectations of Mithradates' bounty, seeing that the poverty-stricken Athenion, who once gave lectures for such fees as he could collect,^b now parades through town and country with insolent airs on account of the king's favour. He was also met by the artists of Dionysus, summoning the messenger of the new Dionysus to come to the public feast and join in the prayers and libations connected therewith. He who had in former days gone forth from a hired house was conducted to the house of ,^c the person who at that time enjoyed great wealth from revenues in Delos ; the house was decorated with couches elaborately spread, with paintings and statues and display of silver vessels From it he emerged trailing a white riding-cloak, his finger encircled with a ring of gold with the portrait of Mithradates engraved upon it; and many slaves

^a The insertion of the proper name, which Kaibel thinks inopportune, is a play on the word *'Αθηναῖον*: “this illicitly-enrolled Athenian”

^b i.e. from voluntary contributors, as in an *έπανος* or picnic.

^c See critical note.

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προεπόμπευον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφείποντο θεράποντες πολλοί. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τῶν τεχνιτῶν θυσίαι τε ἐπετελοῦντο ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀθηνώνος παρουσίᾳ καὶ μετὰ κήρυκος προαναφωνήσεως σπουδαί. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθόντες ἀνέμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόοδον· πλήρης δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ Κεραμεικὸς ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ αὐτόκλητος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ὄχλων συνδρομή. ὁ δὲ μόλις προῆλθε δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ θελόντων, ἐκάστου σπεύδοντος κανὸν προσάψασθαι τῆς ἐσθῆτος.

‘Αναβὰς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττάλου στοᾶς ὡκοδομημένον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς στὰς ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ περιβλέψας κυκληδὸν τὸ πλῆθος, ἔπειτ’ ἀναβλέψας ‘ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔφη, τὰ πράγματα μέν¹ με βιάζεται καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον ἀπαγγέλλειν ἂν οἶδα, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς περιστάσεως ἐμποδίζει με.’ ἀθρόως 213 δ’ ἐπιβοησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν περιεστώτων θαρρεῦν καὶ λέγειν, ‘λέγω τοίνυν, ἔφη, τὰ μηδέποτε ἐλπισθέντα μηδὲ ἐν ὀνείρῳ φαντασθέντα. βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης κρατεῖ μὲν Βιθυνίας καὶ τῆς ἀνω Καππαδοκίας, κρατεῖ δὲ τῆς συνεχοῦς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης ἄχρι Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας. καὶ βασιλεῖς μὲν αὐτὸν Ἀρμενίων καὶ Περσῶν δορυφοροῦσι, δυνάσται δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν καὶ τὸν ὄλον Πόντον κατωκισμένων ἐθνῶν ἐν περιμέτρῳ τρισμυρίων σταδίων. Ῥωμαίων δὲ στρατηγὸς μὲν Παμφυλίας Κόιντος² Οππιος² παραδοθεὶς ἀκολουθεῖ

¹ μέν added by Kaibel.

² Οππιος Schweighauser: δὲ Ιππιος A.

preceded and followed him in the procession. In the precinct of the artists of Dionysus sacrifices were held in honour of Athenion's arrival, and libations were poured at the proclamation of a herald. On the next day many came to the house and waited for his coming forth ; even the Cerameicus was filled with citizens and foreigners, and there was a spontaneous rush of the crowds to the Assembly. He made his way forward with difficulty, attended by a bodyguard of persons who wished to seem great in the eyes of the populace, each one eager just to touch his garments.

"Mounting, then, the platform built in front of the Portico of Attalus by the Roman generals, he took his stand upon this and glanced at the throng all about him ; then looking upward, he spoke : 'Men of Athens, the situation of affairs and the interest of my native land compel me to report the facts which I know ; and yet the enormous importance of what is to be said, on account of the unexpected turn of circumstances, embarrasses me.' When the crowds standing round shouted to him to have no fear, but to speak out, he said : 'Very well, then ; I speak of things never hoped for or even conceived of in a dream. King Mithradates is master of Bithynia and Upper Cappadocia ; he is master of the whole continent of Asia as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia. And kings form his body-guard, Armenian and Persian, and princes ruling over the tribes who dwell round the Maeotis and the whole of Pontus, making a circuit of three thousand six hundred miles. The Roman commander in Pamphyia, Quintus Oppius, has been delivered up and now follows in his train as a captive ; Manius

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ἢ δέσμιος, Μάνιος¹ δὲ Ἀκύλλιος ὁ ὑπατευκώς, ὁ τὸν ἀπὸ Σικελίας καταγαγὼν θρίαμβον, συνδέτην ἔχων ἀλύσει μακρὰ Βαστάρην πεντάπηχυν πεζὸς ὑπὸ ἵππεως ἔλκεται. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι προσπεπτώκασιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταφριεσάμενοι τετράγωνα ἴμάτια τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσι. πᾶσα δὲ πόλις τὰς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον τιμαῖς ὑπαντώσα κατακαλεῖται τὸν θεὸν² βασιλέα· χρησμοὶ δὲ πάντοθεν τὸ κράτος τῆς οἰκουμένης θεοπιώδοισι. εἰδὸς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Θράκην καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν μεγάλα πέμπεται στρατόπεδα, καὶ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἅπαντα μέρη ἀθρόα εἰς αὐτὸν μεταβέβληται. πάρεισι γάρ πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἔθνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων, συμμαχεῖν ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀνάρεσιν.

Μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἔάσας τοὺς πολλοὺς συλλαλῆσαι περὶ τῶν παραδόξως προγγελμένων τρύψας τε³ τὸ μέτωπον τί οὖν, εἶπε, συμβουλεύω; μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τῆς ἀναρχίας ἦν ἡ δι' Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος ἐπισχεθῆναι πεποίκεν, ἔως ἀν⁴ αὐτὴ δοκιμάσῃ περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἡμᾶς πολιτεύεσθαι δεῖ. καὶ μὴ περιίδωμεν τὰ ἱερὰ κεκλημένα, αὐχμῶντα δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια, τὸ δὲ θέατρον ἀνεκκλησίαστον, ἄφωνα δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὴν

¹ Μάνιος Casaubon: μάλιος Α.

² κατακαλεῖται τὸν θεὸν Α: κατακαλεῖ αὐτὸν θεὸν Kaibel.

³ τε not in C.

⁴ ἀν added by Meineke.

Aquilius, the ex-consul, who celebrated a triumph after his Sicilian campaign, bound hand and foot by a long chain to a Bastarnian seven and a half feet tall, is dragged along on foot by a man on horseback. Of all the other Roman citizens, some are prostrated before the images of the gods, while the rest have changed their dress to square cloaks^a and once more call themselves by the countries to which they originally belonged. And every community, greeting him with more than human honours, invokes the god-king ; oracles from all quarters predict his supremacy over the civilized world. Wherefore he is dispatching great armies even to Thrace and Macedonia, and all parts of Europe have gone over to his side in a body. Yes, ambassadors have come to him not only from Italic tribes, but even from the Carthaginians, demanding that they be allies to accomplish the destruction of Rome.'

" For a little while he paused after these remarks, and allowed the crowds to talk over these tidings, so unexpectedly proclaimed. Then he rubbed his forehead and said : ' What, now, am I to advise you ? Tolerate no more the anarchical state of things which the Roman Senate has caused to be extended until such time as it shall decide what form of government we are to have. And let us not permit our holy places to be kept locked against us, our gymnasia in squalid decay, our theatre deserted by the Assembly, our courts voiceless, and

^a The Greek cloak hung square, the Roman toga had a semi-circular effect. The idea of "turncoat," commonly said to have originated with a prince of the House of Savoy, is here seen to be much earlier. Still earlier was the epithet applied to Theramenes, *κρηπόποιος*, a boot which fitted either foot.

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θεῶν χρησμοῖς καθωσιωμένην πύκνα ἀφηρημένην τοῦ δήμου. μὴ περιέδωμεν δέ, ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἰάκχου φωνὴν κατασεσιγασμένην καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀνάκτορον τοῦ θεοῦ κεκληγμένον¹ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς διατριβὰς ἀφώνους.

e Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων λεχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκότριβος, συλλαλήσαντες αὐτοῖς οἱ ὅχλοι καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἴλοντο τὸν Ἀθηνίων στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ περιπατητικὸς εἰς τὴν ὁρχήστραν ἵστηται βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ² εὐχαρίστησε τε τοὺς Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ ἔφη διότι ὡνῦν ὑμεῖς ἔαυτῶν στρατηγεῖτε, προέστηκα δὲ ἐγώ.³ καὶ ἀν συνεπισχύσητε,⁴ τοσοῦτον δυνήσομαι ὅσον κοινῇ πάντες ὑμεῖς. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν συγκατέστησεν ἔαυτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας, ὃν ἥβούλετο ὑποβαλῶν τὰ ὄνόματα. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τύραννον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξας ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ἀναδείξας δόγμα τὸ⁴ περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τὸ ἥβούλετο αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοσοφία ἦν ὁ καλὸς Πυθαγόρας εἰσηγήσατο, καθάπερ ἴστόρησε Θεόπομπος ἐν ὁγδόῃ Φιλιππικῶν καὶ Ἔρμιππος ὁ
214 Καλλιμάχειος, εὐθέως καὶ οὗτος τοὺς μὲν εὑ

¹ κεκληγμένον Kaibel · κεκλιμένον A, κεκλεισμένον C

² δὲ ἐγώ Casaubon: λέγω A.

³ συνεπισχύσητε C, συνεπισχύσῃ γε A: συνεπισχύητε Dindorf, Kaibel. ⁴ τὸ added by Kaibel.

^a The hill south-west of the Acropolis where the Assembly held meetings before the theatre was used for this purpose. The part played by oracles in choosing the site is not elsewhere attested, but is in accordance with all Greek custom.

^b In Athens, Demeter and Persephone.

the Pnyx,^a once consecrated to sacred uses by divine oracles, taken away from the people. Nor let us, men of Athens, permit the sacred voice of Iacchus to remain sealed in silence, the august temple of the Two Divinities^b to remain closed, and the schools of the philosophers to stand voiceless.'

"Well, after many other deliverances of a like tenor uttered by this gutter-snipe,^c the mob talked it over among themselves, and with a rush to the theatre all together, they chose Athenian commander of the military forces. And this Peripatetic,^d coming forward in the theatre 'with a stride like that of Pythocles,'^e thanked the Athenians and said : 'To-day you are your own commanders, although I am at your head. And if you will lend your assistance, I shall have the combined strength of all of you.' With these words, he appointed the other officers in his own interest, proposing by name those whom he desired. Not many days after, he made himself dictator—this philosopher who thus illustrated the Pythagorean doctrine regarding treachery,^f and the meaning of that philosophic system which the noble Pythagoras introduced, as recorded by Theopompus in the eighth book of his *History of Philip*,^g and by Hermippus, the disciple of Callimachus.^h Then this scoundrel, contrary

^a Lit. "house-born slave."

^b Punning on the original sense of "one who strolls or travels everywhere."

^c Demosthenes xix. 314; the phrase became a proverb of anyone whose manner of living was like that of the arrogant Pythocles.

^d Pythagoras is alleged to have plotted to make himself tyrant (Laert. Diog. Pyth. viii. 39).

^e F.H.G. i. 288.

^f *Ibid.* iii. 41.

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φρονοῦντας τῶν πολιτῶν—παρὰ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου δόγματα· ὡς ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὴν παροιμίαν τὴν λέγουσαν ‘μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν’— ἐκποδὼν εὐθὺς¹ ἐποιήσατο, φύλακας δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέστησεν, ὡς νύκτωρ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐλαβουμένους τὸ μέλλον κατὰ² τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς καθιμήσαντας φεύγειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀθηνίων ἵππεας ἐπαποστεῖλας οὓς μὲν ἐφόνευσεν, οὓς δὲ καὶ δεδεμένους κατήγαγε, δορυφόρους ἔχων πολλοὺς τῶν καταφρακτικῶν³ καλουμένων. συν-
b ἄγων δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίας πολλάκις τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖν προσεποιεῖτο . . . καὶ πολλοῖς αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων ὡς διαπεμπομένοις πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ νεωτερίζουσιν ἐφόνευεν αὐτούς καὶ τὰς πύλας . . . τριάκοντα καταστήσας ἐφ’ ἑκάστης οὕτ’ εἰσιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον οὕτ’ ἔξιέναι εἴα. ἀνελάμβανεν δὲ καὶ τὰς οὔσιας πολλῶν καὶ τοσαῦτα χρήματα συνήθροισεν ὡς καὶ φρέατα πληρῶσαι πλείονα. ἔξαπέστειλεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ὁδοιδόκους τῶν ἀποχωρούντων, οἵτινες c αὐτοὺς ἀνῆγον ὡς αὐτόν· καὶ ἀκρίτους ἀπώλλυεν προβασανίσας⁴ καὶ στρεβλώσας. πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ προδοσίας δίκας ἐπῆγεν ὡς τοῖς φυγάσι περὶ καθόδου συνεργοῦσιν· ὅν οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἔφευγον, οἱ δ’ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις κατεδικάζοντο, αὐτοῦ τὰς ψήφους φέρον-

¹ εὐθὺς, tautological after εὐθέως, omitted in C; but the corruption goes deeper.

² κατὰ Meineke· διὰ AC.

³ καταφρακτικῶν Kaibel: ἀφρακτικῶν A. φρακτικῶν C

⁴ προβασανίσας Dalechamp προσβασανίσας A

^a The gap should be filled, probably, with “in order to betray those who did.”

to the precepts of Aristotle and Theophrastus (how true is the proverb which says, ‘Don’t give a knife to a child !’) proceeded immediately to put out of his way the more sober-minded citizens, and set guards at the gates ; consequently many Athenians, apprehending what was in store for them, let themselves down over the walls with ropes by night and fled. Then Athenion sent out cavalry after them, killing some, but bringing back others as prisoners ; for he had as a bodyguard many of those who are called ‘completely armed.’ He frequently convoked meetings of the Assembly and pretended to sympathize with the Roman cause. . . .^a Against many persons he brought accusations to the effect that they were engaged in communicating with those who had been outlawed, and were plotting revolution ; so he murdered them. And closing^b the city gates, he posted thirty guards^b at each, and would not permit anyone, who desired to go out or to come in, to do so. He would also confiscate the estates of many persons, and amassed so much money that it filled several cisterns. He also sent out into the country persons who acted like highwaymen, intercepting those who came from town and dragging them before him. These he would put to death without trial, after first torturing and tearing them on the rack. Against many also he brought suits for treason, alleging that they were co-operating with the refugees to effect their return. Some of these, in their fear, took to flight before the day of the trial, others were condemned in the courts, he himself taking

^a Some such words probably filled the gap.

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τος. ἐνειργάσατο δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων ἔνδειαν, κριθίδια καὶ πυροὺς ὀλίγους διαμετρῶν. ἔξέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ὅπλίτας τοὺς θηρεύσοντας, εἴ τις τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἐντός ἐστι τῶν ὅρων ἢ τῶν d' Ἀθηναίων τις εἰς τὴν ὑπερόριον ἀποδημεῖ· καὶ τὸν ληφθέντα ἀπετυμπάνιζεν, ὥν ἐνίους καὶ προκατανάλισκε τὰς βασάνους. ἐκήρυξσέν τε δύντος¹ ἡλίου πάντας οἰκουρεῦν καὶ μετὰ λυχνοφόρου μηδένα φοιτᾶν.

Καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν διήρπαζεν, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ τὰ τῶν ξένων, ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ εἰς Δῆλον² τοῦ θεοῦ χρήματα. ἐκπέμψας γοῦν εἰς τὴν νῆσον Ἀπελλικῶντα τὸν Τήιον, πολίτην δὲ Ἀθηναίων γενόμενον, ποικιλώτατον τινα καὶ ἀφίκορον ζήσαντα βίον· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐφιλοσόφει³ τὰ περιπατητικά, καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλιοθήκην καὶ ἄλλας συνηγόραζε συχνὰς e (ἥν γὰρ πολυχρήματος) τά τ' ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφισμάτων⁴ ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτάτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ̄ τι παλαιὸν εἴη καὶ ἀπόθετον. ἐφ' οἷς φωραθεὶς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀν εἰ μὴ ἔφυγεν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πάλιν κατῆλθε, θεραπεύσας πολλούς· καὶ συναπεγράφετο τῷ Ἀθηνίων ὡς ἀν ἀπὸ τῆς

¹ δύντος Dindorf. δύνοντος AC.

² εἰς Δῆλον AC: ἐκ Δήλου Kaibel. The expression might be objectionable in classical Greek, but appears to be a natural extension of the *constructio praeponans*.

³ καὶ after εφιλοσόφει deleted by Kaibel

⁴ ψηφισμάτων Kaibel. ψηφίσματα A.

the votes.^a Moreover, his activities caused a scarcity of the necessaries of life in the city, and he had to ration barley and wheat in small quantities. He also sent out over the country heavy-armed troops to catch any of those who had withdrawn from the city and might still be within the borders, or any Athenian who was travelling to a refuge beyond the borders. And anyone so caught was flogged to death, although some of them died under torture before they were flogged. He also proclaimed that all should stay indoors after sunset,^b and nobody might go out even with a lantern.

"And he seized not merely the property of citizens, but presently he took the goods of foreigners as well, reaching out his hands even for the property of the god at Delos. At any rate, he sent to the island Apellicon of Teos, who had been made an Athenian citizen and had run a chequered and novelty-seeking career. When, for example, he professed the Peripatetic philosophy, he bought up Aristotle's library and many other books (for he was very rich), and began surreptitiously to acquire the original copies of the ancient decrees in the Metroön,^c as well as anything else in other cities which was old and rare. Detected in these acts at Athens, he would have forfeited his life if he had not absconded. But after a short while he returned to Athens again, having won over the favour of many persons; he then enlisted in the cause of Athenion, as one who

point of view of classical Greek idiom In Attic *ψῆφος φέπειν* means to "cast votes"; here the meaning is "collecting and manipulating the votes."

^a The earliest record of a curfew?

^b Temple of the Mother of the Gods, where the archives were kept.

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αὐτῆς δὴ αἱρέσεως¹ ὅντι. Ἐθηνίων δ' ἐπιλαθό-
μενος τῶν δογμάτων τῶν τοῦ περιπάτου χοίνικα
κριθῶν εἰς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας διεμέτρει τοῖς ἀνοή-
τοις Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλεκτορίδων τροφὴν καὶ οὐκ
ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς διδούσ. Ἀπελλικῶν δὲ μετὰ
δυνάμεως ἔξορμήσας εἰς Δῆλον καὶ πανηγυρικῶς
μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιωτικῶς ἀναστρέφόμενος, καὶ
προφυλακὴν ἀμελεστέραν πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον μερίσας,
μάλιστα δὲ τὰ ἔξόπισθε τῆς νήσου ἔάσας ἀφύλακτα
καὶ οὐδὲ χάρακα βαλόμενος² ἐκοιμᾶτο. τοῦτο
215 δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ὁρόβιος στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων καὶ
φυλάσσων τὴν Δῆλον φυλάξας ἀσέληνον νύκτα
καὶ ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας, κοιμω-
μένοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἐπιπεσών κατέκοψε τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συστρατευομένους
ὡς βοσκήματα, ἔξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐζώγησε
δὲ καὶ περὶ τετρακοσίους καὶ δὲ καλὸς στρατηγὸς
Ἀπελλικῶν ἔλαθε φυγῶν ἐκ Δήλου. πολλοὺς δὲ
καὶ συμφυγόντας κατιδῶν ὁ Ὁρόβιος εἰς ἐπαύλεις
συγκατέφλεξεν αὐταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ
πολιορκητικὰ ὅργανα σὺν τῇ ἐλεπόλει, ἦν εἰς Δῆ-
λον ἐλθὼν κατεσκευάκει. στήσας οὖν τρόπαιον ἐπὶ
τῶν τόπων ὁ Ὁρόβιος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπέγραψε

τούσδε θανόντας ἔχει ξείνους τάφος, οἱ περὶ Δῆλον
μαρνάμενοι ψυχὰς ὥλεσαν ἐν πελάγει,
τὴν ἱερὰν ὅτε νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι κεράζουν,
κοινὸν Ἀρη βασιλεῖ Καππαδόκων θέμενοι.”

¹ δὴ αἱρέσεως Musurus : διαιρέσεως A.

² βαλόμενος Meineke βαλλόμενος A.

• lit. “city-taker,” the siege engine *par excellence* invented by Demetrius Poliorcetes. ⁶ Mithradates.

belonged to the same philosophic sect. Athenion, meanwhile, had forgotten the precepts of the Peripatetic school, and was rationing out a quart of barley every four days to the silly Athenians, giving them food fit for cocks, not human beings. And Apellicon, though he had set out with a military force to Delos, behaved as if he were attending a festival rather than as a true soldier, and, on the side toward the town of Delos, set a guard which was too negligent ; as for the regions behind the island, he left them completely unguarded, and went to bed without even throwing up a palisade When this came to the knowledge of Orbius, who was the Roman praetor in charge of Delos, he waited for a night when there was no moon ; he then led out his troops and attacked the Athenians when they were asleep or carousing, and slaughtered them and their companions in arms like sheep, to the number of six hundred ; he also took about four hundred prisoners. And this noble general Apellicon made off from Delos in secret flight. When Orbius observed many others fleeing together for refuge in farm-houses, he burned them up, houses and all, as well as all their appliances for a siege, including the siege-engine^a which Apellicon had constructed when he came to Delos So Orbius raised a trophy over those regions and built an altar on which he inscribed : ‘ These dead which the tomb holds here are strangers who lost their lives in fighting round Delos on the sea, when the Athenians, making common cause with the king^b of the Cappadocians in battle, wasted the sacred island.’ ”^c

^a Here ends the citation from Poseidonius, begun at 211 e.

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Καὶ Ταρσοῦ δὲ Ἐπικούρειος φιλόσοφος ἐτυράννησε, Λυσίας ὄνομα· ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος στεφανοφόρος αἱρεθείς, τουτέστιν ἵερεὺς Ἡρακλέους, οὐκ ἀπετίθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ’ ἔξι ἴματίου τύραννος εἶναι, πορφυροῦν μὲν μεσόλευκον¹ χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκώς, χλαμύδα δὲ ἔφεστρίδα περιβεβλημένος πολυτελῆ καὶ ὑποδούμενος λευκὰς Λακωνικάς, στέφανον δάφνης χρυσοῦν² ἐστεμμένος, καὶ διανέμων τὰ τῶν πλουσίων τοῖς πένησι, πολλοὺς φονεύων τῶν οὐ διδόντων.

Τοιούτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας στρατηγοί. περὶ ὧν Δημοχάρης ἔλεγεν· “ὦσπερ ἐκ θύμβρας οὐδεὶς ἀν δύνατο κατασκευάσαι λόγχην, οὐδ’ ἐκ Σωκράτους στρατιώτην ἀμεμπτον.” ὁ γὰρ Πλάτων φησὶν τρεῖς στρατείας στρατεύσασθαι Σωκράτη, τὴν μὲν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν, τὴν δὲ εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν, τὴν δὲ εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὅτε καὶ συνέβη τὴν ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ μάχην γενέσθαι. μηδενὸς δὲ τοῦθ' ἰστορηκότος³ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀριστείων φησὶν αὐτὸν τετυχηκέναι πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυγόντων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπολομένων. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐψευδολόγηται ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεία γέγονεν ἐπὶ Ἀλκαίου ἀρχοντος Κλέωνος ἥγουμένου ἔξι ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς φησι Θουκυδῆς. τούτων οὖν τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἀνάγκη εἴναι καὶ Σωκράτην, ως πλὴν τρίβωνος καὶ βακτηρίας ε οὐδὲν ἦν. τίς οὖν εἶπεν ἰστοριογράφος ἡ ποιητής;

¹ μεσόλευκον Musurus: μέσον λευκὸν A

² χρυσοῦν Kaihel: χρυσῆς A.

³ ἰστορηκότος A. ἰστορηκότος ἔτερον (έτέρου?) C.

Again, an Epicurean philosopher came to be tyrant of Tarsus ; his name was Lysias. He, once he had been chosen by his native city to be "crown-bearer," that is, priest of Heracles, refused to give up his office ; on the contrary, laying aside his long robes, he made himself tyrant, putting on a purple tunic with white stripes, throwing round his shoulders a costly military cloak, putting on his feet white Laconian slippers, and crowning his head with a gold crown of laurel-pattern ; he then distributed the goods of the rich among the poor, murdering many who did not offer them of their own accord.

Such are the military leaders who have risen from the ranks of philosophy. Of them Demochares^a used to say . " Precisely as no one can make a lance-head from a leaf of savoury, so also one cannot make a blameless soldier out of a Socrates." Plato, indeed, says^b that Socrates went on three campaigns, one against Potidaea, one against Amphipolis, and another against the Boeotians, at the time when it came to pass that a battle was fought in the precinct of Delum. And although no historian^c has recorded this, Socrates tells us himself that he won the prize for the bravest when all the Athenians had fled, many also having been killed. But all this is fictitious. For the expedition against Amphipolis, in the archonship of Alcaeus,^d was made up of picked men led by Cleon, as Thucydides says.^e So Socrates must have been one of those picked men—Socrates, who had nothing but a tattered coat and a staff! What historian or poet has mentioned it ? Or where

^a Or, "no one else." See critical note

^b 422-421 B.C. The archons held office for twelve months from about July 1. ^c v. 2.

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ἢ ποῦ Θουκυδίδης τὸν Σωκράτη παρενέχρωσε¹ τὸν Πλάτωνος στρατιώτην ; “ τί γὰρ ἀσπίδι ἔνθημα καὶ βακτηρίᾳ , ” πότε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ἐστρατεύσατο, ὡς ἐν τῷ Χαριδῇ εἴρηκεν ὁ Πλάτων φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀριστείων τότε ’Αλκιβιάδῃ παραχωρῆσαι, τοῦτο οὔτε Θουκυδίδου ἀλλ’ οὐδ’² ’Ισοκράτους εἰρηκότος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους ποίας δὲ καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἔλαβε τὰ ἀριστεῖα Σωκράτης καὶ τί πράξας ἐπιφανὲς καὶ διάσημον; καθόλου μάχης μηδεμιᾶς συμπεσούσης, ὡς ἵστορηκε Θουκυδίδης. οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ τερατολογίᾳ δὲ Πλάτων ἐπάγει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ γενομένην, μᾶλλον δὲ πεπλασμένην ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Δήλιον ἥρήκει³ Σωκράτης, ὡς ἵστορει Ἡρόδικος δὲ Κρατήτειος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Φιλοσωκράτην, ἅμα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀσχημόνως ἄν ἔφυγε, Παγώνδου⁴ δύο τέλη περιπέμψαντος τῶν ἵππεών ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς περὶ τὸν λόφον. τότε γὰρ 216 οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Δήλιον τῶν ’Αθηναίων ἔφυγον, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ ’Ωρωπόν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς⁵ Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐφεπόμενοι ἔκτεινον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἵππεῖς οἵ τε αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ⁶ Λοκρῶν. τοιούτου οὖν κυδοικοῦ καὶ φόβου καταλαβόντος τοὺς ’Αθηναίους, μόνος Σωκράτης “ βρευθύσμενος καὶ τῷφθαλμῷ παραβάλλων ” είστηκει

¹ παρενέχρωσε Α. παρενέκρουσε Kaibel. παρενεχώρισε Madvig.

² οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὐτ' A.

³ ἥρήκει Porson: ἥρηκε A.

⁴ Παγώνδου Musurus: ἄγων δὲ οὐ A.

⁵ πρὸς and οἱ added from Thucydides.

^a Cf. Aristoph. Ran. 47 τί κόθορνος καὶ ρόπαλον ἔνηλθέτην, “What means this conjunction of soft buskin with bludgeon?” See Kock iii. 498.

^c 153 B.

^b The answer is, “in 432 B.C.”

^d Symp. 220 E.

has Thucydides touched even slightly upon Socrates, this warrior of Plato? "What is there in common between a shield and a staff?"^a And when did he go on a campaign against Potidaea,^b as Plato has asserted in the *Charmides*,^c alleging that on that occasion he also resigned the prize for the bravest to Alcibiades.^d Neither Thucydides, nor even Isocrates *On the Team of Horses*,^e has mentioned it. In what battle did Socrates receive the prize for the bravest, and what striking and conspicuous feat did he perform? No battle whatever occurred then, according to the account in Thucydides. But not content with this narrative of his prodigy, Plato adds the battle which occurred in the precinct of Delium,^f or rather, a story of fictitious valour. For even if Socrates had captured Delium, to quote the account given by Herodicus, the disciple of Crates, in his *Against the Socrates-worshipper*, he must have fled in disgrace with the mob, since Pagondas had unexpectedly sent two troops of cavalry round the hill.^g On that occasion, to be sure, some of the Athenians fled to Delium, others to the coast, others again to Oropus, and still others to Mount Parnes; but the Boeotians, particularly their own cavalry and that of the Locrians, followed close upon them and put them to death. When, then, such confusion and panic had seized the Athenians, is it likely that Socrates, "with head cocked high, his eyes rolling this side and that,"^h stood his ground alone and threw back

^a Since this is a speech in defence and laudation of Alcibiades, it is difficult to see why Isocrates should have mentioned the superiority of Socrates over his hero.

^f 424 B.C.

^g Thuc iv 96.

^b First said of Socrates by Aristophon *Nub.* 362, quoted by Plato, *Symp.* 221 B.

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ἀναστέλλων τὸ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν ἵππικόν,
 καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ οὐ Θουκυδίδης
 μέμνηται, οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ποιητής.¹ πῶς δὲ καὶ
 b τῶν ἀριστείων Ἀλκιβιάδη παραχωρεῖ τῷ μηδ'
 ὅλως κεκοινωνηκότι ταύτης τῆς στρατείας; ἐν δὲ
 τῷ Κρίτωνι δὲ τῇ Μηνημοσύνῃ φίλος Πλάτων οὐδὲ
 ποιήσασθαι πώποτε² ἀποδημίαν τὸν Σωκράτη ἔξω
 τῆς εἰς Ἰσθμὸν πορείας³ εἴρηκε. καὶ Ἀντισθένης
 δ' δὲ Σωκρατικὸς περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ
 Πλάτωνι ἴστορεῖ. “οὗκ ἔστιν δὲ ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος
 οὗτος.” χαρίζεται γάρ καὶ ὁ κύων οὗτος πολλὰ
 τῷ Σωκράτει· δῆθεν οὐδετέρῳ αὐτῶν δεῖ πιστεύειν
 σκοπὸν ἔχοντας Θουκυδίδην. δὲ γάρ Ἀντισθένης
 καὶ προσεπάγει τῇ ψευδογραφίᾳ λέγων οὕτως·
 c “ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀκούομεν καν τῇ πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς μάχῃ
 τὰ ἀριστεῖα σε λαβεῖν.—εὐφήμει, ὥς ξένε· Ἀλκι-
 βιάδου τὸ γέρας, οὐκ ἐμόν.—σοῦ γε δόντος, ὡς
 ημεῖς ἀκούομεν.” δὲ Πλάτωνος Σωκράτης εἰς
 Ποτίδαιαν λέγει παρεῖναι καὶ τῶν ἀριστείων
 Ἀλκιβιάδη παρακεχωρηκέναι. προτερεῖ δὲ κατὰ
 πάντας τοὺς ἴστορικους τῆς ἐπὶ Δήλιον στρατείας
 ἦ περὶ Ποτίδαιαν, ἢς Φορμίων ἐστρατήγει.

Πάντ' οὖν ψεύδονται οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ πολλὰ
 παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους γράφοντες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται,

¹ ποιητής AC ποιητῆς, “fictitious,” Lumb. But the order of words is against this. Kaibel, assuming a lacuna after οὐδεὶς, conjectured οὐτε συγγραφεὺς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ποιητής, “not only no historian, but not even a poet either” Cf. 215 e.

² πώποτε Plato: ποτὲ AC.

³ πορεῖα AC: θεωρία Wilamowitz. The reference to the Isthmus, omitted in the best mss. of Plato, is generally deleted by the editors of Plato. Athenaeus, or rather Herodicus who lived ca. 125 B.C. (cf. 188 f, note c), had it

the Boeotian and Locrian horsemen? ^a Not Thucydides, not any poet besides, makes mention of this bravery. Again, how could he resign the prize for the bravest in favour of Alcibiades, who had not taken the smallest part in this campaign? And in the *Crito*,^b this devotee of the goddess of memory, Plato, says explicitly that Socrates had never made a journey abroad, excepting the excursion to the Isthmus.^c And Antisthenes, the disciple of Socrates, tells the same story about the prize for the bravest that Plato tells. "But this tale is not sooth."^d For this Cynic, as well as Plato, displays favouritism toward Socrates in many ways; consequently neither of them should be trusted by those who have Thucydides in regard. Antisthenes, in fact, even adds to the fiction these words: "We hear that in the battle with the Boeotians, also, you won the prize for the bravest.—Hush, stranger! That glory belongs to Alcibiades, not to me.—Yes, for you gave it to him, as we hear." And Plato's Socrates says that he was present at Potidaea, and resigned the prize for the bravest to Alcibiades. But according to all the historians, the expedition to Potidaea, under command of Phormion, preceded that against Delium.

At all points, then, the philosophers are false, and they fail to notice that they record many things

^a Cicero, *Div.* i. 54, says that Socrates was warned by his divine monitor to go by another road!

^b 52 B.

^c To attend the Isthmian Games held near Corinth. But see critical note.

^d Stesichorus, *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 32, in the famous *Palinode* wherein he retracted what he had said against Helen.

in his text, though its omission would have strengthened his argument.

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δικαθάπερ οὐδ' ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν, ὃς ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ ὑποτίθεται Καλλίαν τὸν Ἰππονίκου Αὐτολύκου τοῦ Λύκωνος ἔρωντα καὶ νενικηκότος αὐτοῦ παγκράτιον ἔστιασιν ποιούμενον καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις δαιτυμόσι παρόντα αὐτὸν¹ τὸν ἵσως μηδὲ γεννηθέντα ἢ περὶ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχοντα ἔστιν δὲ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς καθ' ὃν Ἀριστίων ἄρχων ἦν. ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ Εὔπολις τὸν Αὐτόλυκον διδάξας διὰ Δημοστράτου χλευάζει τὴν ενίκην τοῦ Αὐτολύκου. πάλιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ποιεῖ τὸν Σωκράτην λέγοντα ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ ταυτί· “καίτοι Παυσανίας γε ὁ Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔραστής ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀκρασίᾳ συγκαλινδουμένων εἰρηκεν ὡς καὶ στράτευμα ἀλκιμώτατον ἀν γένοιτο ἐκ παιδικῶν καὶ ἔραστῶν. τούτους γὰρ ἀν ἔφη οἵεσθαι μάλιστα ἀν αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους ἀπολιπεῖν, θαυμαστὰ λέγων, εἴ γε οἱ φόγου τε ἀφροντιστεῖν καὶ ἀναισχυντεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐθιζόμενοι οὗτοι μάλιστ' αἰσχύνονται αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν.” ὅτι μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδὲν εἰρηκεν Παυσανίας ἔξεστι μαθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Πλάτωνος Συμποσίου. Παυσανίουν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα σύγγραμμα, οὐδὲ εἰσῆκται παρ' ἄλλω λαλῶν οὗτος περὶ χρήσεως ἔραστῶν καὶ παιδικῶν ἢ παρὰ Πλάτωνι· πλὴν εἴτε κατέψευσται τοῦτο Ξενοφῶν εἴτ' ἄλλως γεγραμμένω τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐνέτυχε Συμποσίῳ,

¹ αὐτὸν added by Casaubon

^a 421-420 B.C.

^b The comic poets often employed the services of friends in producing a play.

^c 8. 32.

^d Athenaeus (or Herodicus) at first assumes that Xenophon derived all that he knew of Pausanias from Plato. But this
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anachronistically ; just so even the noble Xenophon, in the *Symposium*, represents Callias, the son of Hippoⁿicus, as having a passion for Autolycus, the son of Lycon, and giving a banquet in his honour when he was victor in the pancratium ; he places him in the scene with the other guests at dinner, though probably he had not been even born then, or at least was in his infancy still. Now the time of this scene was the archonship of Aristion.^a For in this year Eupolis brought out his *Autolycus* by the agency of Demostratus,^b and satirized the victory of Autolycus. Again, Xenophon makes Socrates say these words in his *Symposium*^c . “ And yet Pausanias, the lover of the poet Agathon, defends those who wallow in lust, saying that a very valiant army could be formed of lovers and their favourites. For he said that he should expect that they, more than all others, would be ashamed to desert one another, a preposterous assertion, which assumes that men who habitually disregard censure and are lost to shame would scruple more than all others to do anything dishonourable.” That, however, Pausanias never said any such thing one may learn from Plato’s *Symposium*^d As for Pausanias, indeed, I know of no work by him, nor has he even been introduced as a character speaking on the usefulness of lovers and their favourites in any other author than Plato ; but waiving the question whether Xenophon has invented all this, or whether he had read a *Symposium* by Plato in different form from

is impossible, he argues, because the events in Xenophon’s *Symposium* antedate those narrated by Plato. Either, then, Xenophon invented it all, or Plato’s *Symposium* once contained other matter

ATHENAEUS

παρείσθω· τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἀστόχημα λεκτέον. Ἀριστίων, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ συμπόσιον ὑπόκειται συνηγμένον, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἔτῶν Εὐφήμου 217 πρότερος ἥρξεν, καθ' ὃν¹ Πλάτων τὰ Ἀγάθωνος νικητήρια γέγραφεν, ἐν οἷς Παυσανίας τὰ περὶ τῶν ἔρωτικῶν διεξέρχεται. θαυμαστὸν οὖν καὶ τερατώδες, εἰ τὰ μῆπω ῥηθέντα, μετὰ δὲ τέτταρα ἔτη ἐπιχειρηθέντα παρ' Ἀγάθωνι Σωκράτης παρὰ Καλλία δειπνῶν εὐθύνει ὡς² οὐδὲ δεόντως ῥηθέντα. ὅλως δὲ ληρός ἔστι τῷ Πλάτωνι τὸ Συμπόσιον. ὅτε γάρ Ἀγάθων ἐνίκα, Πλάτων ἦν δεκατεσσάρων ἔτῶν. ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται Ληναίοις, Πλάτων δὲ γεννᾶται ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ μετ' Εὐθύδημον ἄρξαντος· δύο δὲ καὶ ὅγδοήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη μετήλλαξεν ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίμαχον, ὃς ἔστιν ὅγδοηκοστὸς καὶ δεύτερος. ἀπὸ³ δὲ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ τῆς Πλάτωνος γενέσεως τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος ἔστιν ἄρχων Εὐφῆμος, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ἐπινίκια Ἀγάθωνος ἔστιῶνται. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πλάτων δηλοῖ τὴν συνουσίαν ταύτην πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγονέναι, λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ. “ . . . εἰ νεωστὶ ἥγει τὴν συνουσίαν γεγονέναι, ὡστε κάμε παραγενέσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη⁴ πόθεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὁ Γλαύκων⁵, οὐκ οἰσθ'

¹ δν Musurus· ἦν (sc ἀρχὴν?) A.

² ὡς added by Kaibel. ³ ἀπὸ Musurus: ἐπὶ A.

⁴ ἔφη Plato: ἔφην A. ⁵ ὁ Γλαύκων Plato· ὁ λύκων A.

^a 417-416 B.C. Agathon's victory occurred in February, 416: the Lenaean, festival of "Dionysus of the wine-press," was held in the latter part of February.

^b 417-416 B.C.; see last note.

^c 430-429 B.C.

that now extant, we must emphasize his error in chronology. Ariston, in whose archonship Xenophon's symposium is supposed to be held, was archon four years before Euphemus,^a in whose year Plato has placed the celebration of Agathon's victory; in the course of this celebration Pausanias delivers his views on love. It is, therefore, prodigiously surprising that words not yet spoken or essayed until four years after, in the house of Agathon, should have been reproved as improper by Socrates when dining at the house of Callias. But Plato's *Symposium* is nonsense pure and simple. For when Agathon won his victory, Plato was only fourteen years old. Agathon was crowned at the Lenaea in the archonship of Euphemus,^b but Plato was born in the archonship of Apollodorus,^c who succeeded Euthydemus^d; he lived for eighty-two years and departed this life in the archonship of Theophilus,^e who succeeded Callimachus, and was the eighty-second archon.^f From Apollodorus and the birth of Plato Euphemus makes the fourteenth archon, and it was in his year that Agathon's victory was celebrated by a dinner. Plato himself makes it clear that this party occurred a long while before when he says in his *Symposium*^g: “ . . . ‘ if you imagine that the party is a recent occurrence, so that I too could be there.’ ‘ Indeed I did,’ he replied. ‘ But how could that be, Glaucon ?

^a *Euthynus I.A* iv. 22 a.

^b 348-347 b.c.

^c After Apollodorus, not counting the year of “ anarchy,” 404-403 b.c.

^d 172 c. Apollodorus, one of Socrates' youngest disciples, says: “ It would seem that your informant has not given you a clear account if you imagine that this party occurred so recently that I too could be there ”

ATHENAEUS

ὅτι πολλῶν ἔτῶν Ἀγάθων οὐκ ἐπιδεδήμηκε;”
 καὶ προελθών¹ φησιν· “ἀλλ’ εἰπέ μοι, πότε
 ἐγένετο ἡ συνουσία αὕτη; κάγὼ εἶπον ὅτι παῖδων
 ἔτι δύντων ἥμῶν, ὅτε τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ ἐνίκησεν ὁ
 Ἀγάθων.” ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ ὁ Πλάτων παρὰ τοὺς
 χρόνους ἀμαρτάνει δῆλον ἐστιν ἐκ πολλῶν. κατὰ
 γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα ποιητὴν “ὅττι κεν ἐπ’ ἀκαρίμαν
 γλωτταν ἔλθῃ,” τοῦτο μὴ διακρίνας γράφει. οὐ
 γὰρ ἀγράφως τι ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ² ἐσκευμένως,
 δώς ἐν τῷ Γοργίᾳ γράφων φησίν· “ἄθλιος ἄρα
 οὗτος ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐστι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον.—
 εἴπερ γε, ὡς φίλε, ἄδικος.” εἴτα ρήτως εἰπὼν ὡς
 κατέχοντος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν Ἀρχελάου
 προβὰς γράφει τάδε · “καὶ Περικλέα τοῦτον τὸν³
 νεωστὶ τετελευτηκότα.” εἰ δὲ νεωστὶ⁴ τετελεύ-
 τηκε Περικλῆς, Ἀρχέλαος οὕπω κύριός ἐστι τῆς
 ἀρχῆς· εἰ δ’ οὗτος βασιλεύει, πρὸ πολλοῦ πάνυ
 χρόνου ἀπέθανε Περικλῆς. Περδίκκας τούννυν πρὸ⁵
 Ἀρχελάου βασιλεύει, ὡς μὲν ὁ Ἀκάνθιός φησιν
 ε Νικομήδης, ἔτη μά’, Θεόπομπος δὲ λε’, Ἀναξι-
 μένης μ’, Ιερώνυμος κη’, Μαρσύας δὲ καὶ Φιλό-
 χορος κγ’. τούτων οὖν διαφόρως ιστορουμένων
 λάβωμεν τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀριθμὸν τὰ κγ’ ἔτη
 Περικλῆς δ’ ἀποθνήσκει κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τοῦ
 Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου ἀρχοντος Ἐπαμείνονος,

¹ προελθών Musurus · προελθών A.

² ἀλλ’ οὐ πάνυ is necessary to the argument, but the corruption lies deep.

³ τὸν added from Plato.

⁴ εἰ δὲ νεωστὶ Musurus : εἰδέναι εἰ δὲ νεωστὶ A.

Don't you know that Agathon has not lived here for many years ? ” ” And going on he says : “ ‘ Tell me, please, when did that party take place ? ’ And I said : ‘ We were still boys when Agathon won a victory with his tragedy ’ ” But that Plato^a makes many mistakes in chronology can be proved by many instances. To quote the poet who said, “ ‘ Whatsoever cometh untimely to the tongue,’ ”^b Plato writes this down without discrimination. To be sure, he never said anything that he did not put into writing, but he wrote it with scarcely^c any care, as when he says in the *Gorgias*^d. “ According to your contention, then, this prince Archelaus is a wretched man.—Certainly, my friend, if he is an unrighteous man.” And then, after expressly speaking of Archelaus as being in possession of the throne of Macedonia, he proceeds to set down the following^e : “ ‘ And this Pericles, who has died recently.’ ”^f But if Pericles has died recently, Archelaus cannot yet be in possession of the throne ; on the other hand, granting that Archelaus is king, Pericles died a very long time before him. Perdiccas, then, was in fact king before Archelaus for a period of forty-one years, according to Nicomedes of Acanthus ; Theopompus says thirty-five, Anaximenes forty, Hieronymus twenty-eight, Marsyas and Philochorus twenty-three. Now, since these records are diverse, let us take the smallest number, twenty-three years. Pericles died during the third year of the Peloponnesian war,^g in the archonship

^a As well as Xenophon.^b P.L.G. ⁴ ni. 717.^c See critical note^d 471 A.^e 503 c.^f In 429 B.C.^g 431-404 B.C.

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έφ' οὖ τελευτᾶ . . .¹ Περδίκκας καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν
 Ἀρχέλαος διαδέχεται. πῶς οὖν νεωστὶ κατὰ
 Πλάτωνα τελευτᾶ Περικλῆς; ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ
 Γοργίᾳ δὲ Πλάτων τὸν Σωκράτη ποιεῖ λέγοντα·
 f “καὶ πέρυσιν βουλεύειν λαχών, ἐπειδὴ η̄ φυλὴ
 ἐπρυτάνευε καὶ ἔδει με ἐπιψήφιζειν, γέλωτα
 παρεῖχον καὶ οὐκ ἡδυνάμην ἐπιψηφίσαι.” τοῦτο
 δὲ Σωκράτης οὖν κατὰ ἀδυναμίαν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ
 μᾶλλον κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν οὖν γὰρ ἡβούλετο λύειν
 δημοκρατίας νόμους. παρίστησι δὲ τοῦτο σαφῶς
 δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν πρώτῳ ‘Ελληνικῶν ἐκτιθεὶς οὕτως
 “τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεών τινων οὖν φασκόντων προ-
 218 θήσειν τὴν διαιψήφισιν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, αὐθὶς
 Καλλίξεως ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἐβόῶν
 καλεῖν τοὺς οὓς φάσκοντας· οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβη-
 θέντες ὡμολόγουν ἅπαντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκρά-
 τους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου. οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, ἀλλὰ
 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πάντα ποιήσειν.” οὗτός ἐστιν δὲ
 διαιψηφισμὸς δὲ γενόμενος κατὰ τῶν περὶ Ἐρασ-
 νίδην στρατηγῶν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Ἀργινούσσαις ἐν
 τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἀπολομένους οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. ἐγένετο
 δὲ η̄ ναυμαχία ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλίου, τῆς Περι-
 κλέους τελευτῆς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρσιν
 b ’Αλλὰ μήν καὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ διάλογος,

¹ The gap cannot be filled with certainty. Casaubon supplied ‘Αλέξανδρος, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Περδίκκας διαδέχεται διεβασίλευεν ἐώς Καλλίου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὖ τελευτᾶ, “Alexander (died 429 B.C.) and Perdiccas succeeded to the throne, P. was king until the archonship of Callias (406/5 B.C.), when he died”, but the chronology is against this

^a 429–428 B.C.

^b Sc. Alexander? See crit. note

^c 473 end.

^d Antiochis; on the Prytanes see 187 d, note h. The behaviour of Socrates when chairman of the Prytanes is 486

of Epameinon,^a in whose year died . . .^b Perdiccas; and Archelaus succeeded to the throne. How, then, could Pericles have died "recently," as Plato says? Again, in the same *Gorgias*^c Plato makes Socrates say. "Last year I was chosen by lot a member of the Council, and when my tribe^d was prytanizing, and it became my duty to put a question to vote, I only caused mirth, and was unable to put the question" But Socrates did this not because of any incapacity, but rather because of his courageous devotion to the right, for he could not consent to violate the laws of the commonwealth. Xenophon makes this clear in the first book of his *Hellenica*^e: "When some of the Prytanes refused to put the question^f which was contrary to the laws, once more Callixenus rose and denounced them. And the mob shouted that the recusants should be brought to trial; so all the Prytanes, in fear of their lives, promised that they would put the question, excepting Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus. He said that he would not, but would do everything according to the laws." The vote here mentioned is the one taken against Erasinides and the other commanders associated with him, because they failed to pick up the bodies of the men lost at Arginussae in the sea-fight. This fight occurred in the archonship of Callias,^g twenty-four years after the death of Pericles.

Nor is this all. The conversation in the *Protagoras*,

described by Plato, *Apol* 32 b, agreeing substantially with Xenophon. This defence of Socrates, extending to 218 a (*πάντα ποιήσειν*), is interposed by Athenaeus himself in the citation from Herodicus

^e 1. 7. 14

^f To condemn to death the generals collectively and without trial.

^g 406-405 b c. The battle was fought September, 406

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μετὰ τὴν Ἰππονίκου τελευτὴν γενόμενος παρειληφότος ήδη τὴν οὐσίαν Καλλίου, τοῦ Πρωταγόρου μέμνηται¹ παραγεγονότος τὸ δεύτερον οὐ πολλάς πρότερον ἡμέραις ὁ δ' Ἰππόνικος ἐπὶ μὲν Εὐθυδήμου ἄρχοντος στρατηγῶν παρατέτακται μετὰ Νικίου πρὸς Ταναγραίους καὶ τοὺς παραβοηθοῦντας Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῇ μάχῃ νενίκηκε. τέθηνκε δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἐπ'² Ἀλκαίου διδασκαλίας τῶν Εὔπολιδος Κολάκων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. πρόσφατον γάρ τινα τοῦ Καλλίου τὴν παράληψιν τῆς οὐσίας ἔμφαίνει τὸ δράμα ἐν οὖν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι Εὔπολις τὸν Πρωταγόραν ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντα εἰσάγει, Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τῷ Κόννῳ δύο πρότερον ἔτεσιν διδαχθέντι οὐ καταριθμέῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τῶν φροντιστῶν χορῷ. δῆλον οὖν ὡς μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν χρόνων παραγέγονεν δ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὸν Ἡλεῖον Ἰππίαν συμπαρόντα ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ μετά τινων ἴδιων πολιτῶν, οὓς³ οὐκ εἰκός ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀσφαλῶς διατρίβειν πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἐνιαυσίας ἐπὶ Ἰσάρχου⁴ Ἐλαφηβολίωνος συντελεσθῆναι σπονδάς ὁ δὲ τὸν διάλογον ὑφίσταται γινόμενον περὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους καθ' οὓς αἱ σπονδαὶ προσφάτως ἐγεγόνεσαν· λέγει γοῦν· “εἰ γάρ εἴεν ἄνθρωποι ἄγριοι οἵους πέρυσι Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίω”

¹ μέμνηται added by Casaubon

² οὓς Musurus: ὡς A

³ τοῦ after Ἰσάρχου deleted by Musurus.

⁴ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ Schweighauser: ἐπιλήναια A.

^a 309 d.

^b 431–430 B.C. See 217 a, note d.

^c 422–421 B.C.

^d Kock i 297.

^e Kock i. 673, the title is the name of Socrates' music teacher; the play was performed with the first *Clouds* of 488

which took place after the death of Hipponicus, when Callias had by this time succeeded to his property, mentions^a Protagoras as having arrived on his second visit to Athens just a few days before. But in the archonship of Euthydemus,^b Hipponicus is in the battle-line as a commanding officer associated with Nicias against the Tanagreans and other Boeotians who came to their aid, and he is victor in the battle. He is dead, however, probably not long before the production of *The Flatterers*, by Eupolis, in the archonship of Alcaeus^c; at least so we must infer, because this play shows that Callias's inheriting of the property was then a recent event. In this play, then, Eupolis^d represents Protagoras as being in town, whereas Ameipsias in *Connus*,^e which was brought out two years previously, does not include Protagoras in his chorus of "Thinkers." It is evident, then, that Protagoras came to Athens between these two dates. But Plato represents Hippias of Elis as also present on the scene in the *Protagoras*,^f along with certain of his own fellow-citizens, who could hardly live at Athens in safety before the conclusion of the year's truce in the archonship of Isarchus, month Elaphebolion.^g He, however, assumes that the dialogue took place about the time when this truce had just been made, at any rate he says^h: "For if there should be savages such as the poet Pherecrates portrayed last year in the play which he brought out at the Lenaean." Now *The Savages*

Aristophanes, and adjudged superior, at the City Dionysia, March 423 b.c. Like the *Clouds*, Ameipsias's play satirized the new education.

ⁱ 14th day; end of March, 423 b.c. (Thuc. iv. 117-18). Isarchus was archon 424-423 b.c.

^h Plot 327 d.

^j 314 c, 315 d

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εδιδάχθησαν δὲ οἱ "Αγριοι ἐπ' Ἀριστίωνος ἄρχοντος, ἀφ' οὗ ἐστιν ἄρχων Ἀστύφιλος, πέμπτος ὃν ἀπὸ Ἰσάρχου, καθ' ὃν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἔγενοντο. "Ισαρχος γάρ, εἰτ' Ἀμεινίας, μεθ' ὃν Ἀλκαῖος, εἰτ' Ἀριστίων, εἰτ' Ἀστύφιλος παρὰ τὴν ἴστορίαν οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ διαλόγῳ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας παράγει πολεμίους ὅντας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰππίαν, μὴ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας αὐτῆς μενούσης.

Καν ἄλλοις δ' ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ Χαιρεφῶντα ἐρωτήσαι τὴν Πυθίαν εἴ τις εἴη Σωκράτους σοφώτερος· καὶ τὴν ἀνελεῦν μηδένα. καν τούτοις δὲ μὴ συμφωνῶν Ξενοφῶν φησι¹. " Χαιρεφῶντος γάρ ποτε ἐπερωτήσαντος ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀνεῦλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων πολλῶν παρόντων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον." πῶς οὖν εὔλογον ἡ πιθανὸν Σωκράτη τὸν δμολογοῦντα μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι σοφώτατον ἀπάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐπισταμένου θεοῦ ἀναρρηθῆναι, εἰ γάρ τοῦτό ἐστι σοφία, τὸ μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τὸ πάντα εἰδέναι φαντότης ἀν εἴη τίς δ' ἦν χρεία τῷ Χαιρεφῶντι παρενοχλεῦν τὸν θεὸν περὶ Σωκράτους πυνθανόμενον, αὐτὸς γάρ ἦν ἀξιόπιστος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγων ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶ σοφός " βλάξ γάρ τις ἦν τοιαῦτ² ἐρωτῶν τὸν θεόν," ὡς ἂν εἴ καὶ τοιαῦτα, τίνα³ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐρίων ἄλλ' ἐστὶ μαλακώτερα, εἰ τῶν ἐν Βάκτροις καμῆλων⁴ εἰσὶ τινες δυνατώτεροι, ἢ εἰ Σωκράτους ἐστί τις σιμότερος, τοὺς γάρ τὰ τοιαῦτα πυνθανομένους εὐστόχως ἐπιρραπίζει ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ

¹ Ξενοφῶν φησὶ Dindorf: Ξενοφῶντι φησὶ A. Ξενοφῶν, τί φησι, Schweighauser.

² τοιαῦτα, τίνα Kaihel: τοιαῦτα τινὰ A.

³ καμῆλων Boissonade καὶ μῆδων A

was produced in the archonship of Aristion^a; after him Astyphilus was archon, and he was the fifth archon after Isarchus, in whose year the truce was made. The archons, namely, were Isarchus, then Ameinias, after him Alcaeus, then Aristion, then Astyphilus. Plato, then, contrary to history, brings to Athens in his dialogue Hippias and others hostile to the city, though there was no truce at the time.

In another passage,^b also, Plato says that Chaerephon asked the Delphic priestess whether there was anyone wiser than Socrates, and she made response that no one was wiser. But on this point, again, Xenophon does not agree; for he says^c: "On one occasion, in fact, Chaerephon put a question at Delphi on my behalf, and Apollo returned answer before many witnesses that no man was more just or sober than I." How, then, is it reasonable or probable that Socrates, who confessed that he knew nothing, should have been proclaimed by the god who knows all things as the wisest of all men? For if that is wisdom, to know nothing, then to know all things must be stupidity. And what was the use in Chaerephon's bothering the god by his question about Socrates? For Socrates was himself entitled to credence when he said on his own behalf that he was not wise. "A fool, indeed, was he who asked such questions of the god"^d—as foolish as if he asked, for instance. "What other wool is softer than the Attic?" "Are there any camels stronger than the Bactrian?" "Is there anybody with a flatter nose than Socrates's?" For persons who put such questions to the god are appropriately rebuked by

^a 421-420 B.C.

^c (Xen.) *Apol.* 14

^b *Apol.* 21 A.

^d A line from some comic poet.

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τὸν πυθόμενον, εἴτε¹ Αἰσωπός ἐστιν δὲ λογοποιὸς
ἢ ἄλλος τις,

πῶς ἀν πλουτήσαιμι, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς νίέ,
χλευάζων ἀπεκρύνατο·

εἰ τὸ μέσον κτήσαιο Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος.

’Αλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ^b ὧν δὲ^c Πλάτων εἴρηκε περὶ^d
Σωκράτους τῶν κωμικῶν τις¹ εἴρηκεν, οὐθὲ^e δτὶ^f
μαίας βλοσυρᾶς νίδος ἢν οὐθὲ^g δτὶ^h Ξανθίππη χαλεπῆ
ἢν γυνή, ἡτις καὶ νιπτῆρας αὐτοῦ κατέχει τῆς
κεφαλῆς, οὐθὲⁱ ὡς ’Αλκιβιάδη συνεκοιμῆθη ὑπὸ^j
τὴν αὐτὴν γενούμενος χλαῖναν καίτοι ἀναγκαῖον
ἢν τοῦτο ἐκκωδωνισθῆναι ὑπὸ^k ’Αριστοφάνους
τοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ^l συμπαρόντος² κατὰ^m
Πλάτωνα· οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἐσίγησε τοῦτοⁿ ’Αριστο-
φάνης . . .^o ὡς τοὺς νέους διαφθείροντος. ’Ασπα-
σία μέντοι ἡ σοφὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους διδάσκαλος^p
τῶν ῥήτορικῶν λόγων ἐν τοῖς φερομένοις ὡς
αὐτῆς ἔπεισιν, ἀπερ ’Ηρόδικος δὲ Κρατήτειος
παρέθετο, φησὶν οὕτως.

Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔλαθέσ με πόθω δηχθεὶς φρένα
τὴν σὴν

παιδὸς Δεινομάχης καὶ Κλεινίου. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ-
άκουσον,

εἰ βούλει σοι ἔχειν εὖ παιδικά μηδὲ^q ἀπιθήσῃς
ἀγγέλω, ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ καί σοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἔσται.
κάγὼ ὅπως ἥκουσα, χαρᾶς ὑπὸ σῶμα λιπάνθη^r

¹ οὐδὲ^b ὧν . . . εἴρηκεν . . . κωμικῶν τις A. οὐδὲν ὧν . . . εἶπε . . . οὐδὲ κωμικός τις C.

² συμπαρόντος added by Gulick

³ Supply δτὶς κατηγορεῖ Σωκράτους.

⁴ λιπάνθη Kaihel: λιπαίνω A.

him ; like the man (whether the fable-maker Aesop or someone else) who inquired . " How may I get rich, son of Zeus and Leto ? " The god mockingly replied : " By acquiring what lies between Corinth and Sicyon " ^a

But further not one of the scandals uttered by Plato concerning Socrates is mentioned even by any comic poet ; for example, that he was the son of a strapping midwife,^b or that Xanthippe was a shrew who poured slops over his head,^c or that he lay down to sleep with Alcibiades under the same coverlet.^d And yet this last must inevitably have been proclaimed with the ringing of bells by Aristophanes, who was present at the symposium, according to Plato ; Aristophanes would never have hushed up this bit of gossip, seeing that he accused Socrates ^e of corrupting the young men. The clever Aspasia, to be sure, who was Socrates' teacher in rhetoric, says in the verses which are extant under her name^f and which are quoted by Herodicus, the disciple of Crates : " Socrates, I have not failed to notice that thy heart is smitten with desire for the son of Deinomache and Cleinias. But hearken, if thou wouldest prosper in thy suit. Disregard not my message, and it will be much better for thee. For so soon as I heard, my body was suffused with the glow of joy,

^a A very rich territory, claimed by both Corinth and Sicyon. A private individual had as much chance of buying it as a man to-day might have of buying the City or Wall Street. For the views of Socrates concerning those who asked trivial questions of the oracle see Xen. *Mém.* i. 1 9.

^b μαλα μάλα γενναιας (" buxom ") και βλοσυράς Φαιναρέτης, *Theast.* 149 A. ^c Not in Plato !

^d *Symp.* 219 B.

^e See crit. note.

^f P.L.G.⁴ n. 288, where the verses are ascribed to Socrates himself.

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d ἵδρωτι, βλεφάρων δὲ γόος πέσεν οὐκ ἀθελήτῳ.
στέλλου πλησάμενος θυμὸν Μούσης κατόχοιο,
ἢ τόνδ' αἰρήσεις, ὡσὶν δ' ἐνίει¹ ποθέουσιν.²
ἀμφοῦν γὰρ φιλίας ἥδ' ἀρχή· τῇδε καθέξεις
αὐτόν, προσβάλλων ἀκοαῖς ὁπτήρια θυμοῦ.

Κυνηγεῖ οὖν ὁ καλὸς Σωκράτης ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλον
ἔχων τὴν Μιλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς θηρεύεται, ὡς
ὁ Πλάτων ἔφη, λινοστατούμενος ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου.
ε καὶ μὴν οὐ διαλείπει γε κλαίων³ ὡς ἄν, οἶμαι,
δυσημερῶν. ἴδούσα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς ἦν κατ-
στήματι Ἀσπασία φησίν

τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, φίλε Σώκρατες; ἢ σ' ἀνακίνει
στέρνοις ἐνναίων σκηπτὸς πόθος ὅμμασι θραυσθεὶς
παιδὸς ἀνικήτου, τὸν ἐγὼ τιθασόν σοι ὑπέστην
ποιῆσαι,

ὅτι δὲ ὅντως ἥρα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου δῆλον ποιεῖ
Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ, καίτοι μικρὸν ἀπο-
λείποντος τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν λέγει δ' οὕτως·
“πόθεν, ὁ Σώκρατες, φαίνει; ἢ δηλαδὴ ἀπὸ
κυνηγεσίου τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ὕραν, καὶ
μήν μοι καὶ πρώην ἴδοντι καλὸς ἐφαίνετο ὁ ἀνὴρ
ἔτι ἀνὴρ μέντοι, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὡς γε ἐν ἡμῖν
αὐτοῖς εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ πώγωνος ἥδη ὑποπιμπλά-
220 μενος.—εἴτα τί δὴ τοῦτ'; οὐ⁴ σὺ μέντοι Ὁμήρου
ἐπαινέτης εἶ, ὃς ἔφη χαριεστάτην ἥβην εἶναι τοῦ
ὑπηνήτου, ἦν νῦν Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτὸς⁵ ἔχει;

¹ ὡσὶν Kaihel, δ' ἐνίει Wilamowitz ωσιδεινη A.

² ποθέουσιν Bothe: ποθοισιν A.

³ κλαίων Schweighauser: καλλιῶν A.

⁴ τοῦτ', οὐ Plato: τούτου A. ⁵ αὐτὸς not in Plato.

and tears not unwelcome fell from my eyelids. Restraine thyself, filling thy soul with the conquering Muse ; and with her aid thou shalt win him ; pour her into the ears of his desire. For she is the true beginning of love in both ; through her thou shalt master him, by offering to his ear gifts for the unveiling of his soul ”^a

So, then, the noble Socrates goes a-hunting, employing the woman of Miletus as his preceptor in love, instead of being hunted himself, as Plato has said, being caught in Alcibiades’ net. And what is more, he does not leave off weeping, being, I fancy, unfortunate in his pursuit. For seeing what a state he was in, Aspasia says : “ Why art thou all tears, dear Socrates ? Can it be that the thunderbolt of desire, rankling in thy breast, stirs thee up—the bolt which crashed from the eyes of the lad invincible, whom I promised to make tame for thee ? ” And that Socrates really had a passion for Alcibiades is disclosed by Plato in the *Protagoras*, although Alcibiades was little short of thirty years old. Plato says^b : “ Where do you come from, Socrates ? But I know for certain : you have come from the hunt, and the beauty of Alcibiades is your quarry. As a matter of fact, when I saw the man the other day he looked handsome still, though a man, between ourselves, Socrates, who is already covered with a beard under his chin SOCRATES. Well, what of it ? Don’t you approve Homer when he says^c that the most beautiful age is that of the bearded man, the age which Alcibiades himself has now attained ? ”

^a Referring to the gifts brought by the bridegroom when the bride removed her veil.

^b *Prot.* 309 A, a nameless friend speaks.

^c *Od.* x. 279.

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Πεφύκασι δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν κωμικῶν κακήγοροι μᾶλλον εἶναι, εἴ γε καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐν μὲν τῷ Τηλαύγῃ Κριτόβουλον τὸν Κρίτωνος ἐπ' ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ ῥυπαρότητι βίου κωμῳδεῖ, τὸν δὲ Τηλαύγην αὐτὸν ἴματίου μὲν φορήσεως καθ' ἡμέραν ἡμιωβέλιον κναφεῖ τελοῦντα μισθόν, κωδίω¹ δὲ ἔξωσμένον καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα σπαρτίοις ἐνημένον
 b σαπροῖς, εὐτελέστατον δῆτα² ρήγτορα οὐ μετρίως διαγελᾷ. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσπασίᾳ Ἰππόνικον μὲν τὸν Καλλίου κοάλεμον προσάγορεύει, τὰς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἱωνίας γυναικας συλλήβδην μοιχάδας καὶ κερδαλέας. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας αὐτοῦ περιέχει τὴν τοῦ Καλλίου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διαφορὰν καὶ τὴν Προδίκου καὶ Ἀναξαγόρου τῶν σοφιστῶν διαμώκησιν. λέγει γάρ ὡς ὁ μὲν Πρόδικος Θηραμένην μαθητὴν ἀπετέλεσεν, ὁ δ' ἔτερος Φιλόξενον τὸν Ἐρύξιδος καὶ Ἀριφράδην τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρι-
 c γυνάτου τοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦ, θέλων ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δηλωθέντων³ μοχθηρίας καὶ περὶ τὰ φαῦλα λιχνείας ἐμφανίσαι τὴν τῶν παιδευσάντων διδασκαλίαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀξιόχῳ πικρῶς Ἀλκιβιάδου κατατρέχει ὡς οἰνόφλυγος καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας γυναικας σπουδάζοντος

'Αντισθένης δ' ἐν θατέρῳ τῶν Κύρων κακολογῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ παράνομον εἶναι λέγει⁴ καὶ εἰς γυναικας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν. συνεῖναι γάρ φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ μητρὶ καὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ ἀδελ-

¹ κωδίω Casaubon: κωμῳδία A.

² εὐτελέστατον δῆτα Kaibel: καὶ τελέσαντα τὸν A.

³ δηλωθέντων A: διδαχθέντων[?]

⁴ λέγει C. λέγων A.

Most philosophers have a natural tendency to be more abusive than the comic poets ; for example, Aeschines, the disciple of Socrates, derides Critobulus the son of Crito in the *Telauges*^a for his boorishness and sordid manner of life ; while as for Telauges himself, Aeschines ridicules him, who was a very poor orator, in no measured terms, for wearing a cloak for which he pays a fuller a farthing daily, and then puts on a belted sheepskin coat, his shoes being tied with frayed laces. Again, in the *Aspasia*,^b he calls Hipponicus, the son of Callias, a booby, and says sweepingly that the women who come from Ionia are adulterous and avaricious. And his *Callias*^c contains the contrast drawn between Callias^d and his father, also the bitter mockery against the sophists Prodicus and Anaxagoras. He says, namely, that Prodicus produced as his pupil Theramenes, while the other had Philoxenus^e the son of Eryxis, and Ariphrades the brother of the harp-singer Arignotus ; his intention being to show the kind of instruction given by these teachers from the wickedness and the itch for depravity in those whom he named^f In the *Axiocbus*,^g again, he bitterly disparages Alcibiades as a drunken sot and an eager pursuer of other men's wives.

Antisthenes, too, in the treatise on the second Cyrus, abuses Alcibiades and says that he was perverted in his relations with women as well as in his mode of life generally. He even says that Alcibiades lay with his mother, his daughter, and

^a p. 12 Hermann, 50 Krauss.

^b Now become poor ; he had inherited great wealth from his father Hipponicus. ^c Cf Athen 239 f, 241 e.

^f or, "those who were taught" ; see crit. note.

^g p. 20 Hermann, 40 Krauss.

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δ φῆ, ὡς Πέρσας ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς αὐτοῦ διάλογος ἀπάντων καταδρομὴν περιέχει τῶν Ἀθήνησιν δημαγωγῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἡ δὲ Ἀσπασία τῶν Περικλέους υἱῶν Ξανθίππου καὶ Παράλου διαβολῆν. τούτων γὰρ τὸν μὲν Ἀρχεστράτου φησὶν εἶναι συμβιωτὴν τοῦ παραπλήσια ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν μικρῶν οἰκημάτων ἐργαζομένου, τὸν δὲ Εὐφήμου συνήθη καὶ γνώριμον τοῦ φορτικὰ σκώπτοντος καὶ ψυχρὰ τοὺς συναντῶντας. καὶ Πλάτωνα δὲ μετονομάσας Σάθωνα ἀσυρῶς καὶ ε φορτικῶς, τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν διάλογον ἔξεδωκε κατ' αὐτοῦ τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς σύμβουλος εἶναι δοκεῖ, οὐ στρατηγὸς φρόνιμος,¹ οὐ σοφιστὴς ἀξιόλογος, οὐ ποιητὴς ὡφέλιμος, οὐ δῆμος εὐλόγιστος ἀλλ' ἦ² Σωκράτης ὁ μετὰ τῶν Ἀσπασίας αὐλητρίδων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων συνδιατρίβων καὶ Πίστωνι τῷ θωρακοποιῷ διαλεγόμενος καὶ Θεοδότην διδάσκων τὴν ἑταίραν ὡς δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς παλεύειν,³ ὡς Ξενοφῶν παρίστησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονεύμάτων τοιαῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ αὐτὸν παραγγέλματα τῇ Θεοδότῃ λέγοντα, ἀ οὔτε Νικώ ἡ Σαμία ἢ Καλλιστράτη ἡ Λεσβία ἢ Φιλανίς ἡ Λευκαδία, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Πυθόνικος συνεωράκασιν πόθων θέλγητρα· οὗτοι γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα ἡσχόληντο περιττῶς. ἐπιλείποι δ' αὖ μ' ὁ πᾶς χρόνος⁴ εἰ ἐκτίθεσθαι βουληθείην τὰς σεμνὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων μέμψεις. κατὰ γὰρ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Πλάτωνα· “ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ὄχλος μοι τοιούτων Γοργόνων καὶ

221 Πηγάσων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμηχάνων πλήθει τε καὶ

¹ φρόνιμος Casaubon: ὁ μῦμος A · οὐ μῦμος C.

² ἀλλ' ἢ Schweighauser ἀλλὰ AC.

his sister, as Persians do. The dialogue on the *Statesman*, by Antisthenes, contains a denunciation of all the demagogues at Athens ; the *Archelaus*, of the orator Gorgias ; the *Aspasia*, slanders against Xanthippus and Paralus, the sons of Pericles. One of them, he says, lived with Archestratus, who plied a trade similar to that of women in the cheaper brothels ; the other was the boon companion of Euphemus, who used to make vulgar and heartless jokes at the expense of all whom he met. Again, Antisthenes changed the name of Plato to Satho, a filthy, vulgar word, and published the dialogue against him under this title. For in the eyes of these gentry no statesman is honest, no general is wise, no sophist is worth considering, no poet is good for anything, no populace is capable of reason ; only Socrates is—he who consorts with Aspasia's flute-girls at the workshops, or converses with Piston the cuirass-maker, or instructs the courtesan Theodote how to lure her lovers, as Xenophon represents him in the second book of the *Memorabilia*.^a For he makes him recommend to Theodote measures such as neither Nico the Samian beauty, nor Callistrate the Lesbian, nor Philaenis the Leucadian, nor even Pythonicus the Athenian, ever conceived as lures to desire ; for all these persons used to busy themselves very devotedly with these questions. But all eternity would fail me if I should undertake to set forth the pompous censures of the philosophers. To quote Plato himself,^b “A crowd of similar Gorgons and winged horses and other fabulous creatures,

^a in 10 9, 11.15.^b *Phaedr.* 229 d.³ παλεύειν Jacobs. ἀπολαύειν A.⁴ μ' ὁ πᾶς χρόνος Dindorf : με πᾶς χρόνος A, με πᾶς ὁ χρόνος C.

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ἀτοπίᾳ¹ τερατολόγων τινῶν φύσεων.” διόπερ καταιωπήσομαι

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μασουρίου εἰπόντος καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων θαυμασθέντος διὰ σοφίαν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς σιωπῆς γενομένης ἔφη· “δοκεῖτέ μοι, ἀνδρες δαιτυμόνες, σφοδροῖς κατηντλῆσθαι λόγοις παρὰ προσδοκίᾳν βεβαπτίσθαι τε τῷ ἀκράτῳ.

ἀνὴρ γάρ ἔλκων οἶνον ὡς ὕδωρ ἵππος
Σκυθιστὶ φωνεῖ, οὐδὲ κόππα γινώσκων.
κεῖται δ’ ἄναυδος ἐν πίθῳ κολυμβήσας,
b κάθυπνος ὡς μήκωνα φάρμακον² πίνων,

φησὶν ὁ Βυζάντιος Παρμένων. ἦ απολελίθωσθε ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων Γοργόνων; περὶ ὧν ὡς³ ὄντως γεγόνασί τινα ζῷα ἀπολιθώσεως ἀνθρώποις αἴτια, ἴστορεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν δευτέρῳ πτηνῶν⁴ ἴστορίας οὕτως· “τὴν γοργόνα τὸ ζῶον καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ Νομάδες, ὅπου καὶ γίνεται, κατώβλεπον.⁵ ἔστιν δέ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι λεγούσιν ἐκ τῆς δορᾶς σημειούμενοι, προβάτῳ ἀγρίῳ ὅμοιοιν, ὡς δ’ ἔνιοί φασι, μόσχῳ. ἔχειν δὲ λεγούσινα αὐτὸ τοιαύτην ἀναπνοήν ὥστε πάντα τὸν c ἐντυχόντα τῷ ζῷῳ διαφθείρειν φέρειν δὲ χαίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου καθειμένην ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς, ἦν δόπόταν μόγις διασεισμένη διὰ τὴν βαρύτητα

¹ πλήθει τε καὶ ἀτοπίᾳ AC: πλήθη τε καὶ ἀτοπίαι Plato.

² φάρμακον Casaubon. φαρμάκων AC.

³ ὡς added by Musurus.

⁴ πτηνῶν Schoenemann, cf. 388 d. κτηνῶν AC.

⁵ κατώβλεπον Kaibel (cf. Aelian, N.A. vii. 5) κάτω βλέπον A.

incomprehensible in number and strangeness.”^a
Wherefore I will lapse into silence.

After Masurius had delivered this long harangue^b and had been complimented by all on his knowledge, silence ensued, and then Ulpian spoke : “ It seems to me, fellow-diners, that you have unexpectedly ‘ been deluged with violent words’^c and soused in the wine unmixed : ‘ For a man who guzzles wine as a horse does water speaks gibberish and cannot recognize a single letter^d ; speechless he lies immersed in the cask, sunken in sleep like one who drinks the poppy drug.’ So speaks Parmenon of Byzantium.^e Or have you been turned into stone by the Gorgons just mentioned ? And speaking of Gorgons, Alexander of Myndus records that certain animals really exist capable of turning men into stone. In the second book of his *Inquiry into Birds* he says : ‘ The gorgon is the creature which the Numidians of Libya, where it occurs, call “ down-looker.” As the majority aver, drawing their comparison from its skin, it is like a wild sheep ; but some say that it is like a calf. They say, too, that it has a breath so strong that it destroys any one who meets the animal. And it carries a mane hanging from its forehead over the eyes ; whenever it shakes this aside, as it does with difficulty because of its weight, and catches sight of anything, it kills

^a Or “ winged horses and quantities of other impossibles, and strange shapes of fabulous creatures.” See crit. note.

^b Beginning at 196 a.

^c See Demiańczuk, *Suppl. Com.* 114.

^d lit “ knows not kappa,” the letter which became Q in the Latin alphabet

^e Frag 1 Powell; the verses are choliambic. Cf. Herodas 3, of the truant schoolboy: *επισταται δ' ονδ' άλφα συλλαβήη γνωναι*, “ he can’t make out even the letter A.”

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έμβλέψῃ, κτείνει τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῆς¹ θεωρηθέντα οὐ τῷ πνεύματι, ἀλλὰ τῇ γιγνομένῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅμμάτων φύσεως² φορᾷ καὶ νεκρὸν ποιεῖ. ἐγνώσθη δὲ οὕτως. τῶν μετὰ Μαρίου τινὲς ἐπὶ Ἰογόρθαν στρατευ- σαμένων ἴδόντες τὴν γοργόνα δόξαντές τε διὰ τὸ κάτω νενευκέναι βραδέως τε κινεῦσθαι ἄγριον εἶναι πρόβατον ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς κατεργασόμενοι δοῖς εἶχον ξίφεσι. τὸ δὲ πτοηθὲν διασεισάμενόν τε τὴν τοῦς ὅμμασιν ἐπικειμένην χαίτην παραχρῆμα ἐποίησε τοὺς ὥρμησαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν νεκρούς. πάλιν δὲ καὶ πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸν ποιησάντων ἔτέρων νεκρῶν τε γενηθέντων, ³ἀεὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἀπολλυμένων, ἵστορήσαντές τινες παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὴν τοῦ ζώου φύσιν, μακρόθεν ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτὸν ἵππης τινες³ Νομάδες Μαρίου κελεύσαντος κατηκόντισαν ἥκον τε φέροντες πρὸς τὸν εστρατηγὸν τὸ θηρίον.⁴ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὡς ἦν ἄρα τοιοῦτο ἡ δορὰ ἡ τε Μαρίου στρατεία μηνύει. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου οὐκ ἔστι πιστόν, ὡς εἰσὶ τινες κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην δπισθονόμοι καλούμενοι βόες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοὺς πορευομένους νέμεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τούπισω ὑποχωροῦντας τοῦτο ποιεῦν. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔμπόδιον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν νομῆν τὰ κέρατα οὐκ ἄνω ἀνακεκυφότα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων, ἀλλὰ κάτω νενευκότα καὶ ἐπισκοτοῦντα τοῖς ὅμμασι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἄπιστόν ἔστιν, οὐδενὸς ἔτέρου ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος ἱστορικοῦ.”

¹ ὑπ' αὐτῆς not in C; we expect ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

² φύσεως not in C: φύξεως φορᾷ Lumb, “by darting a cold chill.”

³ The text from ἀεὶ to ἵππης τινες is defective.

whatever is seen from beneath it^a; not by its breath, but by the influence which emanates from the peculiar nature^b of its eyes; and it turns the object into a corpse. It came to be known in this wise. Some soldiers in the expedition of Marius against Jugurtha^c saw the gorgon, and supposing that it was a wild sheep, since its head was bent low and it moved slowly, they rushed forward to get it, thinking that they could kill it with what swords they had. But the creature, being startled, shook the mane which lay over its eyes and immediately turned to corpses the men who had rushed upon it. Again and again other persons did the same thing and became corpses; and since all who attacked it at close quarters always died, some made inquiry of the natives about the nature of the animal; whereupon^b some Numidian horsemen, at the command of Marius, lay in ambush for it at a distance and shot it, they then returned with the animal to the commander. That this creature was, to be sure, of the character described is certified both by its skin and by the expedition under Marius. But that other report given by this investigator is not credible; he says that in Libya there are backward-grazing cattle, so called because they do not move forward when they graze, but do it retreating backwards; for, says he, their horns are a hindrance to grazing in the natural way, since they do not curve upwards like those of all other animals, but incline downwards and shade their eyes. This is really incredible, since no other inquirer confirms it."

^a Or, "seen by it"; see critical note.

^b See critical note.

^c 107 B.C.

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f Ταῦτα τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ εἰπόντος ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ὁ
Λαρήνσιος καὶ συγκατατιθέμενος τῷ λόγῳ ἔφη
τὸν Μάριον τῶν ζώων τούτων δορὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
ἀναπεπομφέναι, ἃς μηδένα εἰκάσαι δεδυνῆσθαι
τίνος εἰσὶ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὄψεως· ἀνατεθεῖ-
σθαι τε τὰς δορὰς ταύτας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους
ἱερῷ, ἐν φῷ οἵ τοὺς θριάμβους κατάγοντες στρατηγοὶ
222 ἔστιώσι τὸν πολίτας, καθάπερ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμε-
δαπῶν ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασιν. “ ὑμεῖς
οὖν, ὡς γραμματικοί, κατὰ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Ἡρό-
δικον, μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἴστοροῦντες,

φεύγετ³, Ἀριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάτης
Ἐλλάδα, τῆς ἔουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος,
γωνιοβόμβυκες, μονοσύλλαβοι, οῖσι μέμηλε
τὸ σφίν καὶ τὸ σφῶν¹ καὶ τὸ μὴν ἥδε τὸ νίν.
τοῦθ' ὑμῶν εἴη δυσπέμφελον². Ἡροδίκω δὲ
Ἐλλὰς ἀεὶ μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβύλών.—
ιτὰ γάρ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιὸν Ἀναξανδρίδην.

b ήδονήν ἔχει,
δταν τις εὔρη καινὸν ἐνθύμημά τι,
δηλοῦν ἅπασιν οἵ δ' ἑαυτοῖσιν³ σοφοὶ
πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσι τῆς τέχνης κριτήν,
εἴτα φθονοῦνται. χρὴ γὰρ εἰς ὅχλον φέρειν
ἄπαινθ' ὅσ' ἄν τις καινότητ' ἔχειν δοκῇ
ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἀναχωροῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ
λεληθότως διέλυσαν τὴν συνουσίαν.

¹ καὶ τὸ σφῶν Pierson. καὶ σφῶν AC.

^{ον}
2 δυσπέμφελον A : δυσπέμφελοι C, Zenodotus.

³ δ' ἐαυτοῖσιν Porson: δὲ αὐτοῖσιν A.

^a i.e. old pronominal forms, $\sigma\phi l\nu$ =old dat. plural, "to

These remarks of Ulpian were confirmed and attested in so many words by Larensis, who said that Marius had sent skins of these animals back to Rome, and that no one could guess to what animal they belonged, so extraordinary was their appearance; he further said that these skins hang dedicated in the temple of Hercules, where commanders celebrating their triumphs feast the citizens, as many poets and historians of Rome have told. "As for you then, my pedants, you don't look into these matters ; in the words of the Babylonian Herodicus, ' Fly, sons of Aristarchus, fly from Hellas over the broad back of the ocean, more craven than the tawny doe, buzzing in dark corners, mumbling monosyllables, whose sole business is the difference between "ye" and "you" and "it" and "hit"^a ; may your journey be rough^b through these waters, but as for Herodicus, long live Hellas and Babylon, child of the gods.'"^c—Indeed, as the comic poet Anaxandrides^d says . " It is a pleasure, when one discovers a new idea, to proclaim it to all ; but those who keep their wisdom to themselves have, first, no critic to judge their new device, and, secondly, they are looked upon with ill-will One should publish to the crowd all things, when one thinks he has a novelty." At these words most of the guests withdrew, and gradually dissolved the party

them" : σφῆν, old dat. dual, "to you twain" ; μν, Ionic acc. sing (rarely plur), "him," "her," "it". νν, Doric acc. sing, "him," "her," "it."

^b Cf. *Il.* xvi. 748 εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη, "though the sea be rough."

^c Here ends the critique of Plato and the Alexandrians by Herodicus the Pergamene, begun at 215 c, with one slight interruption, 217 f-218 a.

^d Kock n. 159.

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